

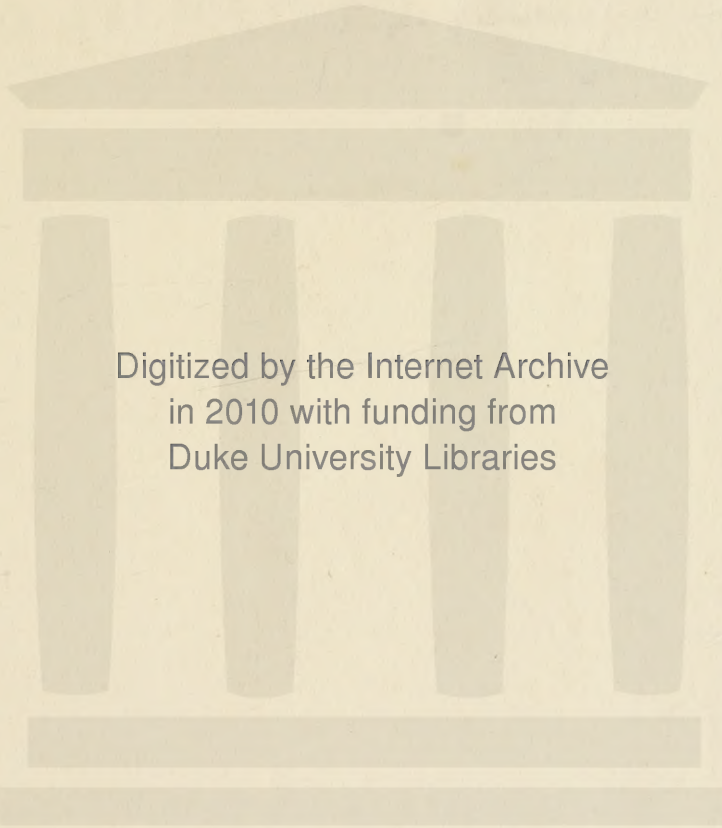
The Struggle for Existence

Walter Dill Scott

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THE Struggle For Existence

BY

WALTER THOMAS MILLS, A. M.

"Move upward, working out the beast, and let the ape and tiger die."—Tennyson: *In Memoriam*, cxviii.

"It is well if the mass of mankind will obey the laws when made without scrutinizing too nicely into the reasons for making them."—Blackstone: *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Book II., Ch. I.

"The starting point of the development that gave rise to the wage-laborer as well as to the capitalist was the servitude of the laborer."—Marx: *Capital*, p. 739.

"Since the advent of civilization, the outgrowth of property has been so immense . . . that it has become, on the part of the people, an unmanageable power . . . The time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to the mastery over property, and define the relations of the state to the property it protects, as well as the obligations and the limits of the rights of its owners."—Morgan: *Ancient Society*, p. 552.

FIFTH EDITION—THIRTEENTH THOUSAND

INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF SOCIAL ECONOMY

CHICAGO, ILL.



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TO THE GREAT MULTITUDE

OF THOSE WHO ARE STRUGGLING FOR EXISTENCE
THIS VOLUME IS OFFERED BY ONE OF THE STRUG-
GLERS. BUT FIRST OF ALL, AND ABOVE ALL OTHERS,
IT IS GIVEN TO THE WOMAN WHOSE DEVOTION TO
THE UPWARD STRUGGLE, WHOSE PERSONAL SACRI-
FICE AND WHOSE CONSTANT ASSISTANCE HAS MADE
THIS WRITING AND ITS PUBLICATION POSSIBLE—

TO MY WIFE, HILDA F. MILLS

378 RBK
M657S

PREFACE

In the preparation of this book it has been my wish to help those who are trying to help others in the long warfare against oppression and so to have some share in helping to make a speedy and peaceful transition from the outworn social forms, by which we are surrounded and of which we are the victims, to the next order of things, in the long ascent of the universal life of which I am a part.

I wish it were possible to mention by name many of those who have helped me among the more than three thousand of my students and comrades who have studied and criticised large portions of these discussions in advance sheets. It had been my purpose to do so, but the number has so outgrown all expectations in that particular as to make it entirely impracticable. They are found in every state in the Union, in all the provinces of Canada, in England and on the Continent, in India, Japan, New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines, Hawaii, Alaska, Mexico and Cuba. Their inquiries, suggestions and encouragement and, finally, their assistance in publishing this volume, have placed me under lasting obligations to them all.

WALTER THOMAS MILLS

Rosedale, Kans., Dec. 1, 1903.

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AN OUTLINE

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The Struggle for Existence

PART I

CLEARING THE GROUND

CHAPTER I

CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM

1. The Means of Life.—Man cannot live without food, fuel, clothing and shelter. He cannot live well without homes, books, pictures, music, literature, gardens, places of pleasure, and transportation for himself and his belongings, together with the leisure for their enjoyment.

2. Their Sources.—Nature has provided in abundance the raw materials out of which the skill and industry of the workers may provide all these things, and the great improvements of modern industry have so increased the productive power of the workers that abundance for all can be produced and the working day so shortened that there will be ample leisure for all.

3. Monopoly.—But the lands, tools, shops, store-houses and transportation lines are legally owned by the few, and the many can use none of these things except with the consent of the few who are the legal own-

ers. The many cannot live except they use these things to produce the means of life, and hence it is that the many cannot live at all except on terms named by the few.¹

4. Tyranny.—The legal owners, moreover, do not consent that the workers shall use either the natural resources or the tools of industry except the legal owners keep control of both the natural resources and the tools of industry while in use, and so the few reserve to themselves the right of mastery over the many while using them and hence the many must live as the servants of the few, or not at all.²

5. Inequality.—Again, the legal owners of the lands, tools, shops, store-houses and transportation lines, appropriate to themselves the total product of the industries, consenting that the workers shall have for themselves and those dependent on them only the barest subsistence. The legal owners do not guarantee that the workers shall always have an opportunity to be employed, even on these terms. The legal owners insist on the right to employ whom they will, for such hours as the legal owners shall name, requiring such speed in the work as the legal owners shall

1. "The time once was when the ownership and control of property were largely coincident. We have been gradually, and for the most part unconsciously, growing away from these conditions in our endeavor to secure economies of modern production, and at the same time retain the institution of private property unchanged."—Jones: *Economic Crises*, p. 52.

2. "The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery."—National Platform of the Socialist Party of America, adopted at Indianapolis, 1901.

"The whole system of capitalistic production is based on the fact that the workman sells his labor-power as a commodity."—Marx: *Capital*, p. 431.

"There is no principle of justice which gives first terms [conditions] into the hands of one individual as if they were his alone. When they lapse into his possession, the slip must be corrected at once."—Bascom: *Sociology*, p. 228.

choose, and paying such wages as the legal owners shall determine.

6. No Legal Right to Life.—If the legal owners choose to refuse employment to any particular worker, he is not admitted, under capitalism, or under the laws of any country on earth, to have any legal right to an opportunity of any sort to earn a living of any kind, not necessarily because of any fault of his, but simply because “no one hath hired him.”³ If the worker proves himself of great value to his master, his master may improve the lot of such a worker—not because of any regard for that particular worker, or because of any lack of regard for other workers, but simply because it pays the master better to do so.

7. Inherited Mastery and Servitude.—A child born in the family of the legal owner may inherit productive property, and through this private ownership, by inheritance of the lands and tools which others must use, he is born to be their master as they are to be his servants, again, not because of the fault of either the servant or the master, but because this is inherent in capitalism.

All this results in the great wealth of the few, who create no wealth, and the great poverty of the many, who create all wealth.

3. “The four cardinal tenets of Trade Unionism the world over are: (1) That employes shall have the right to say how long they shall work. (2) How much work they shall turn out. (3) How much they shall get for it. (4) Who shall be employed. The Trade Unionist declares in the abstract that these principles are non-arbitrable. * * * The critical examination of the demands made by the modern Trade Unionist will show that they contain the seed of industrial destruction.” This is taken from a secret circular mailed only to employers of labor by the American Manufacturers’ Association. The circular argues at length in opposition to these propositions, contending that the employers only shall determine the length of the day’s work, the amount of the product required, and the wages to be paid, and insists that if the workingmen are to be heard on these questions it means industrial destruction.

The able-bodied man without money and begging for employment may be jailed as a vagrant in every State in the Union.

8. Collectivism.—On the other hand, the Socialists insist that the lands, tools, shops, store-houses and transportation lines, so far as they are collectively used by all of the people, ought to be owned by all of the people.⁴ Then the many would not depend on the few, for the consent of the few, for the many to stay alive; nor would the many be obliged to bargain with the few in order to secure the opportunity to produce the means of life, such things as food, fuel, clothing and shelter.

9. Democracy.—Again, the Socialists contend that those who do the world's work ought themselves to manage the work they do. Then the relation of mastery and servitude would cease, and self-government would extend to the field of every day's activities and control by the common voice of all the toilers all the interests held in common by all the toilers.

10. Equality.—And finally, the Socialists contend that all men and women shall have an equal opportunity to become workers, if they shall so choose,⁵ with equal voice in the management of industries carried on with the collective use of the collectively owned lands, tools, shops, store-houses and transportation

4. "The Socialist Party of America, in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into a collective ownership by the entire people."—National Platform of the Socialist Party of America, adopted at Indianapolis, 1901.

5. "Not only do we owe it to ourselves to pursue a serious calling, but likewise to society at large. The man who refuses to work in some way or other lives at others' expense. This is no less true of one who idly spends his inheritance than of the professional beggar or thief. From the legal point of view the former consumes what belongs to him and does no wrong; from the moral standpoint, however—that is, in reality—he accepts the products of others without making any return; he lives as a parasite at the table of the people, without helping to defray the costs."—Paulsen: *A System of Ethics*, p. 533.

lines, with all the products belonging to the workers themselves to be divided among them as the workers alone shall determine.

11. Under Socialism.—Then, inasmuch as all men and women would have the opportunity to be producers, with the free use of the lands, tools, shops, storehouses and transportation lines; and inasmuch as no one would then have the power, through private ownership of the industries, where others toil, or through the private management of the industries, where others are employed, or through the private appropriation of the products which others produce, either to enrich himself or to exercise the power of mastery over others, then the great unmerited poverty of the many and the great unearned wealth of the few, together with all industrial despotism, must disappear.⁶

12. Summary.—1. Capitalism is the private ownership by the few of what the many must collectively use. Socialism is the collective ownership by the many of what the many must collectively use.

2. Capitalism is the private management, by the few, of the work which the many must do collectively. Socialism is the collective, democratic management by the many, of the work which the many must do collectively.

3. Capitalism is the private appropriation, by the few, of the products of the many with no one able to produce without the consent of some private owner. Socialism is the appropriation, by the many, for the

6. "Property [in the means of production] is today a lie for the majority of men, a robbery for the minority. Socialism would make property the possession of everyone. It would convert it into a truth, secure to the worker within society the full proceeds of his labor and destroy the capitalistic system of plunder from its foundation. * * * Our end is: The free democracy with equal economic and political rights; the free society with associative labor. The welfare of all is for us the one end of the state and society."—Liebknecht: *Socialism, What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish*, p. 23.

individual and private possession and use of the many, of the products produced by themselves, with equal opportunity for all men and women to be producers, if they shall so choose.

Capitalism involves the unmerited wealth of those who are idle, and the unmerited poverty of those who are the creators of all wealth. Socialism involves the wealth of those who merit wealth by becoming its producers, and the poverty of those, only, if such there be, who, having the opportunity to live in comfort, choose rather the merited poverty, the fruits of voluntary idleness.

Our Purpose.

By what process did capitalism come to be? How did the few get possession of the natural resources and of the tools which all must use or perish? Why do the many submit to this needless tyranny of the few? Why do the many continue to surrender the wealth their toil produces to make millionaires of others while they remain in such pitiless poverty themselves?

Whence come these proposals of the Socialists? On what grounds do they rest their claims? By what process has the movement grown in power? What defense has their position among the thoughtful and sincere students of affairs? What effect will the coming of Socialism have on the most serious interests of life and the great social problems of the hour? Can these proposals of the Socialists be adopted, and if so, by what means can a worker contribute most to a peaceful and speedy victory of the Socialists?

To answer these questions is the purpose of this volume.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. What are the means of life?
2. What are the means of producing the means of life?
3. Are the means of production and the workers, ready and able to use the means of production, abundant? Defend your reply.

4. If so, why do not the workers proceed to produce and keep for their own use sufficient for their needs?

5. Why are the workers obliged to get the consent of those who do not work before they are able to produce the means of life?

6. To what relation must all workers now submit before they are permitted to earn a living for themselves and families?

7. Are the children of the workers born to be the servants of others?

8. What results from this dependence and subordination of those who work as related to those who do not work?

9. Give three points of contrast between what prevails under capitalism and what would prevail under Socialism.

CHAPTER II

FIRST PRINCIPLES

13. In the Beginning.—Until recently it has been the custom of thoughtful people to account for the coming into existence of the earth and of all forms of life and of all social institutions on the earth—by assuming that in the beginning some force or forces were at work which are no longer acting, or at least, are not acting as subject to the natural laws now known to be in operation. It was formerly supposed that only by making some such assumption could the main facts of life be reasonably explained.

But it is now quite generally agreed by all thoughtful students of nature that we may look upon and directly study all of the forces and processes necessary to give a rational explanation of all of the main facts of life, including the process by which man himself came to his present perfect physical form.

14. The Struggle for Existence.—It is true, throughout all nature, that no form of life can long exist except it struggles for existence. It is true that the very struggle develops the organs used for that struggle. It is true that any individual peculiarity which may make the struggle a successful one by enabling its possessor to survive, will also survive. It is

plain that, any individual peculiarity which may make the struggle fail, by causing its possessor to disappear, such peculiarity would also disappear. Now, every form of life is constantly acted upon by all the forces and conditions which surround it. Is it not clear that those individuals whose organs are best fitted to the conditions or forces acting upon them, or that are able to use those organs in a way best fitted to the conditions or forces acting upon them, are the most likely to survive in their struggle for existence as against changing or adverse conditions and in the face of destructive natural forces?¹

15. The Collective Struggle.—In the same way, those great groups of individuals whose members are born one from another, and have the same organs and the same general bodily functions—those groups, in their struggle against all other groups, would be most likely to survive which were found in the actual struggle to be best equipped for the purposes of the struggle. In the same way, those groups best able and most disposed to guard each other in the struggle with other groups and to help each other to survive within their own groups, by making joint provisions against adverse conditions and destructive natural forces, would be most likely to survive.²

16. Constant Changes and Survivals.—Now, all nature is in the process of constant change. Any changes in any of the forms of life which place the new forms of life at a disadvantage in the struggle for existence, mean that the new forms will cease to exist. Any

1. Darwin: *Origin of Species*, Chapter III.

2. "The change that has been made in the point of view of economics by the present generation is * * * due to the discovery that man himself is in a great measure a creature of circumstances and changes with them; and the importance of this discovery has been accentuated by the fact that the growth of knowledge and earnestness has recently made and is making deep and rapid changes in human nature."—Marshall: *Present Position of Economics* (Inaugural Lecture, Cambridge University, 1885), pp. 12-13.

changes which place the new forms at a better advantage mean that the new forms will survive and that a new form has thus appeared as a new form in nature. Continue this process long enough, change the conditions often enough, follow the forms of life up from the sea, up from the soil, down from the trees, into the erect position, into the development of new tools for new tasks rather than new organs for new tasks, into the more effective struggle for existence by creating organized groups, tribes, nations, rather than attempting a further and impossible improvement in the organic structure of the individual, and you have accounted for man's existence and have discovered the method of his advance.³

17. The Higher from the Lower Forms.—You have not accounted for the natural forces, but you have not been obliged to assume the existence of any force

3. " * * * The creation of man was by no means the creation of a perfect being. The most essential feature of man is his improvableness, and since his first appearance on the earth the changes that have gone on in him have been enormous, though they have continued to run along in lines that were then marked out. The changes have been so great that in many respects the interval between the the highest and the lowest men far surpasses quantitatively the interval between the lowest men and the highest apes. If we take into account the creasing of the cerebral surface, the brain of a Shakespeare and that of an Australian savage would doubtless be fifty times greater than the difference between the Australian's brain and that of an orang-outang. In mathematical capacity the Australian, who cannot tell the number of fingers on his two hands, is much nearer to a lion or a wolf than he is to Sir Rowan Hamilton, who invented the method of quaternions. In moral development this same Australian, whose language contains no word for justice and benevolence, is less remote from dogs and baboons than from a Howard or a Garrison. The Australian is more teachable than the ape, but his limit is nevertheless very quickly reached. All the distinctive attributes of man, in short, have been developed to an enormous extent through the long ages of social evolution.

"This psychical development of man is destined to go on in the future as it has gone on in the past. The creative energy which has been at work through this bygone eternity is not going to become quiescent tomorrow. From what has already gone on during the historic period of man's existence, we can safely predict a change that will by and by distinguish him from all other creatures even more widely and more fundamentally than he is distinguished today."—Fiske: *Destiny of Man*, pp. 71-73.

which you cannot now see in existence. You have not accounted for the constant changes in all forms of life, but you can see such changes going on all around you. You have explained the development of the higher forms of life from the lower forms of life, and you have done so by simply extending through long periods of time, the action of the forces which you see now in operation. All this results from the struggle for existence, the individual struggling against other individuals as well as against adverse natural conditions and forces, and the members of the same groups struggling for each other and against all other groups as well as against adverse natural conditions and forces. This is found by actual observation to be the process of all organic physical development, and, as we shall see further on, of all social progress.⁴

18. Argument for the Theory of Development.—That we may see the full force of this truth and be better able to follow the arguments of all succeeding pages, consider some of the proofs, not that this is a possible and rational explanation, but that it is, in all likelihood, the real and the only possible explanation of the method of development:—

19. The Human Embryo.—1. This whole theory of development was first suggested by the study of the

4. "In life and in history every man suffers whatever fate is conditioned by his natural constitution. Yet his natural constitution depends not on him, but, as we have seen, upon the social medium from which he emerges. This is to blame if individual fates are so seldom proportional to individual merits. For fate strikes the individual in proportion to the merits of the species, so to speak. His own merits may be different. Historical development cares nothing for that. * * * The course and events of history are commensurate with the character and conditions of the social media; and this we must recognize as historical justice. There is none other in history or even in nature.

"Hence the alpha and omega of sociology, its highest perception and final word is: human history a natural process; * * * it preaches most impressively man's renunciatory subordination to the laws of nature which alone rule history."—Gumplowicz: *Outlines of Sociology*, p. 213.

growth of the human embryo. It was noticed that the embryo of a child, forming in its mother's womb, begins with the simplest known form of life, and by a constant shifting of forms, from the simpler to the more perfect forms, it assumes every possible simpler form, fish, amphibian, reptile and mammal, until at last it reaches the form of man.⁵

It is held that this is so, because the race has passed through all these simpler forms before reaching the form of man. This order of development is equally true of the embryo of all lower forms of life. They all pass through all lower forms before reaching their own. A human embryo, of a certain growth, has a tail longer than its legs; at another and later growth it has a complete covering of hair; at birth it sometimes has the "blow-holes" of a fish still open in its neck, and always at birth the strongly developed grip in its hands which indicates an earlier stage of human development when clinging to the boughs of trees was the habit of the race.⁶ The theory of development explains all this. No other explanation is possible.

20. Rudimentary Survivals.—2. There are numerous organs in the body for which man has now no use, but which are of service in the simpler forms of life. They are believed to be survivals from those simpler forms of life. The muscles for whipping the ears, for shaking the scalp, for using the tail, the three to five bony joints of the tail still found at the base of the back, though overgrown; the vermiform appendix, which in grass-eating animals is of great size and of great service, but which in man shrivels after birth, and, while it performs no known function in the human economy, it remains always a point of danger,—are instances of such survivals. It is claimed that not

5. Ward: *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. I., p. 340.

6. Alfred Russell Wallace: *Malay Archipelago*, p. 53.

fewer than seventy such survivals are found in the human body, none of which perform any known function, all of which are of use in lower forms of life, but which remain in man as so many perpetual witnesses of the process of the making of the human form.⁷

Make bare your arm and notice how the scattering hair on the hands and arms is arranged. On the hand and forearm it points away from the wrists; on the arm, both above and below the elbow, it points toward the elbow. Now place yourself in a stooped-over position, as if sitting and balancing yourself in a tree; raise your wrists to your ears; drop your hands forward and downward; extend on either side your elbows and imagine a heavy coating of hair on head and hands and arms, and you can see yourself heavily thatched with hair extending downward from the crown of your head and ready to protect you from the storm. Just such a position is now taken, in time of storm, by the orang, whose hair is arranged in the same way and evidently for the same purpose.⁸

The theory of development explains all this. No other theory can.

21. The Record of the Rocks.—3. When geologists began the study of the rocks, they not only discovered evidences which confirmed the theory of development, but they found the proof of the great age of the world, of the passing of the countless centuries required for the slow development of the higher forms of life. They discovered that all rocks were in conditions which indicated their origin by processes which would require great periods of time for their formation. They found two classes of rocks, the water-laid and the fire-fused. The water-laid rocks were nearest the surface, and

7. For popular discussion of vestigial organs, see Drummond's *Ascent of Man*, Chapter II.

8. Romanes: *Darwin and After Darwin*, pp. 89-92.

were formed as if all the substances of these rocks had been pulverized and then deposited by the action of water. They were found in layers, with the marks of the action of water on them and with the fossils of plants and animals so imbedded in them that it seemed impossible to resist the conclusion that they were placed in the positions in which they were found by the action of water, and hence the name of the water-laid rocks.

The fire-fused rocks are below the water-laid rocks and form the foundation of the earth's crust. The evidence seems conclusive that they were formerly a molten mass, and hence the name of the fire-fused rocks. The substance which makes up the water-laid rocks must have been first pulverized from the surface of the fire-fused rocks.

The water-laid rocks are in layers one above another and contain the fossilized remains of the vegetable and animal forms of life which were in existence during the time in which the various layers were being formed. These fossils show a constant improvement in the forms of life in each higher layer of the rocks, and at last suggest that these forms of life grew out of each other by a natural process of improvement or development.

The process of pulverizing the surface of the original fire-fused rocks by frost, wave and storm, and then the gathering together of these small particles in the slow deposits, resulting from the natural movements of the waters and their final solidification into rocks, must have occupied vast ages of time. And, leading to the same conclusions, the forms of life whose fossils were found in these rocks would require a like duration for the development of the last and more perfect forms of life, found in the highest and most recent of

these rocks, from the simplest forms of life found in the lowest and oldest of the rocks.

22. The Time Required.—The geologists studying the earth could not explain the water-laid rocks without great periods of time for their formation. The biologist studying the forms of life could not explain their continuous development, showing in each higher layer of the rocks higher forms of life, unless great periods of time were granted for their development. So the time element in the development of the forms of life confirms the hoary age of the rocks, which have preserved the fossilized remains of the improving forms of life; and the time element in the formation of the rocks, confirms the belief in the measureless ages during which the simpler forms of life were growing into the form of man.⁹

23. Confirmation by the Astronomers.—Astronomy came with its story of the earth's origin and of its relation to the rest of the universe. It showed that the earth was a birth, rather than a creation, and it asked for space so boundless and time so limitless that the time calculations of the students of the rocks and of the forms of life, seemed to come far short rather than to exceed the long periods of actual duration. Where the geologist and biologist had spoken in thousands, the astronomer spoke in millions. And so all students of nature came to the conclusion of the very great age of the earth, and, by the same reasoning, they came to a conviction of the very great age of the human race, for in the midst of these rock records of the past were found the records of man and of his products. These investigations have so extended the known age of our race as almost to make the use of numbers meaningless. It is commonly held that the

9. Haeckel: In the Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1898, On Our Present Knowledge of the Origin of Man.

age of the race cannot be less than one hundred thousand years, with the strong probability of its being not less than half a million years.¹⁰ The theory of development explains all this. No other theory can.

24. Conclusions.—Here, then, is the story of the growth of the race told over again by the growth of the embryo of each new child. Here is the record of the remnants of organs now useless, but which were once of service in the earlier forms of life. Here is the record of the rocks told without prejudice and with no interest in mis-stating the facts, and here the proof of the passing of the countless centuries necessary for the development to so take place. You may see the life-struggles, by which this advance has taken place, still going on between the individuals and between the groups, for, among plants, animals and men, there are both the struggle against all else, for the preservation of the individual, and the surrender of the individual for the preservation of its kind. This last suggestion will be more largely discussed in the succeeding chapter. (See also Chapter XIII).

25. Summary.—1. All forms of life are struggling for existence.

2. All forms of life are always changing.

3. The new forms which come as the result of constant changes, which make more effective the struggle for existence, are the ones which survive.

4. It is this process which results in the progress of persons, races and institutions.

5. That the life of man has been so developed is

10. Lyell: *Principles of Geology*; Avebury: *Prehistoric Times*, pp. 360-404; Geike: *The Great Ice Age*, pp. 766-816; J. Croll: *Climate and Time*, Chapter XXI.

"We have every reason to believe, then, that the great Glacial period of the Pleistocene Age began 240,000 years ago, and came to an end 80,000 years ago. But, at the beginning of this period men were living in the valley of the Thames River."—Fiske: *Excursions of an Evolutionist*, Chapter on "The Arrival of Man in Europe."

believed, (a) because of the repetition of such a race development in the growth of the human embryo, (b) because of the rudimentary survivals of organs found in the human body, not now of any service, but which are of service to lower forms of life, and (c) because of the constant improvement in the forms of life as recorded in the rocks, showing the simplest forms of life only in the oldest rocks and continually showing higher forms as the advance is made upward through the more recent strata of the rocks and finally to the form of man.

6. The theory of development, that is, of evolution, explains all this, and the same theory of development, that is, of evolution, is the basis of all scientific study of the development of social institutions.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. How was the present order of existence formerly accounted for?
2. What is the scientific method?
3. What is meant by the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest?
4. Does this account for the origin of natural forces themselves?
5. Give the three arguments in defense of the claim of the theory that man has been developed from lower forms of life.
6. What of the probable age of the human race?

CHAPTER III

PRIMITIVE LIFE

26. Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization.—Until within recent years the story of the primitive life of our race was not thought to be of much importance. It was not understood to have covered any great periods of time or to have had any important part in the making up of the usages and the institutions of civilized life. It was generally thought that the difference between savage people and civilized people was largely a matter of races. It was not generally thought that the races now civilized were at any time themselves savages. It was historically known that all had been in barbarism.¹ It is now known that all were in savagery before they were in barbarism, just as all were in barbarism before they were in civilization. The distance which lies between savagery and civilization is not a matter of the different natural endowments of the different races. It is a matter of the different degrees of development of the different races.²

27. The Order of Development.—It is now a matter

1. Ancient Society: Lewis H. Morgan, pp. 3-18; Tylor: Primitive Culture, Vol. I., Chap. 2.

2. Morgan: Ancient Society, pp. 3-18; Tylor: Primitive Culture. Vol. I., Chap. 2.

of agreement among scholars that just as a chemist may put certain substances into a crucible and predict the result of applying heat and the steps by which the result is reached; and that, just as another familiar with the experiment could come upon the scene in the midst of the proceeding and tell all the steps which had gone before and all which were to follow, so if a student of primitive society is given certain habits or customs of a people, he can determine the stage of its growth, and so be able to tell, with great certainty, not only the steps which it has taken, but many of its current habits and customs, and can tell, with equal certainty, the next step in its progress. You can tell such a student the implements found in the graves of an ancient people, and he can tell you much of their forms of government, the nature of their sex relations and the kind of houses which they built.³

28. If a race is found which has not developed the use of the bow and arrow, it may be quite safely inferred that promiscuous sex relations, no permanent dwellings and only the most primitive forms of government will be found characteristic of that race. If a savage or barbarian race be found without slaves, it may be predicted, with equal certainty, that the private ownership of land, the use of money or a market, will not be found among the practices of that race.

29. **Object Lessons in History.**—In this way the rude tribes which still linger in their infancy reveal to us what the life of our own race was when in like infancy. Hence it follows that modern scholarship has not only multiplied the years allotted to the early life of the race, but it has made this study of primitive man of the utmost importance, because here can be studied in the simplicity of their beginnings, the usages and the institutions of our civilized life. Civili-

3. Morgan: *Ancient Society*, Preface and First Three Chapters.

zation was not invented. It was born and has grown out of the humblest and most natural beginnings.⁴

30. Primitive Man Not Helpless.—Again, it has been the custom to assume that man commenced his career full-grown, with wants and faculties much as he now has them, and to have proceeded to establish the home, the industry, the commerce, and the government of the world by a kind of inspired contrivance. When scholarship learned to deny all this and to insist on the lowly origin and slow development, not only of man himself, but also of all the usages and institutions of society which he possesses, it spoke so frequently of primitive man as “without experience and utterly helpless” as to become misleading with regard to the facts of our early life.⁵

For it is certain that the first man that ever lived did not suddenly awaken from his animal antecedents and look around for food and shelter in keeping with the tastes and necessities of man as we know him.

Modern science attempts to prove that the first man came into the world, like the last one, by being born into it. He might have been a slight improvement on his mother, but he took the food and shelter which she provided and asked no questions. If she was the last in the series to be called brute and her child the first in the series to be called man, it is only reasonable to assume that both the mother and her child inherited and possessed all of the higher cunning, instincts and habits which can now be found among the lower animals. The bird and her woven nest, the bee and its matted storehouse, the beaver and its dam, the squirrel

4. “The social system is not the creation of any man or set of men, but has grown of itself out of the tendency among men to secure the things they wish for the least exertion.”—Baker: *Monopolies and the People*, p. 141. See also Morgan: *Ancient Society*, Preface and First Three Chapters.

5. Mason: *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, Introduction. Clodd: *Childhood of the World*.

and its store of food—these would lead us to think that the first man, the superior of all these, with his limited wants, his ample inheritance of cunning, instinct and habit from his animal ancestry and the untaken earth at his disposal, would find the question of subsistence an easier one than the average resident of a back alley in a modern factory town. He was never “without experience and utterly helpless.”

31. The Roots of Civilization.—It is now admitted that the usages and institutions of modern society “find not only their antecedent roots in barbarism, but their germs in savagery.”⁶ It seems that it might be further said that these germs were themselves given vitality and form during the preceding countless centuries when man’s animal ancestry had not yet advanced to the forms of life which finally and distinctively mark the life of man. If this is so, not only can we gather the meaning of our institutions from the early life of man, but from the instincts and habits of all natural life we may obtain hints which may prove helpful in the interpretation of the usages and institutions of modern society.⁷

If we would understand modern usages and institu-

6. Morgan: *Ancient Society*, p. 4.

7. “The struggle for existence among men is probably as severe as that among the lower forms of organic life. Among men, as among animals or plants, we find a number of young brought into being which is far in excess of the number that reaches maturity. * * * But while the intensity of the struggle is the same, the conditions under which it is waged are different in certain important respects. In the first place, the human struggle is between groups more than between individuals. In the second place, it is a struggle for domination more than for annihilation, a struggle which has in it the possibility of losing part of its character as a strife, and giving place to an arrangement for mutual service between those whose interests at first seemed to conflict. Neither of these things is wholly confined to the human race. * * * * * The race of ants which has proved stronger in the fight [mark the word “fight”] no longer regards the members of the weaker race as rivals to be killed, but as helpers to be utilized in labor for which the fighting race is unfitted. Under such circumstances we find institutions and usages which are in many respects strikingly like those of semi-civilized man.”—Hadley: *Economics*, pp. 19 * * 20.

tions, we must seek the reasons for their existence in the humble beginnings of the primitive life of man. The family, the church, the state, the workshop, the market, agriculture, mining, transportation, literature and art—all these have come to be what they are, not by the invention, contrivance or decree of any man or million of men, but as the result of struggle and the slow growth of the life of the race through a thousand centuries.⁸

32. The Struggle for Existence Fundamental.—And this long struggle has always been at bottom a struggle for existence; that is, for the means of life, a struggle for food, fuel, clothing, shelter. This struggle necessarily always comes first in all personal and social life. Only when this struggle has been successfully made can there be any struggle for the higher comforts and refinements of modern civilization. The claim is not that man has no other interests than these. It is, that his other interests cannot exist at all unless these things are first provided.⁹ The fact is, that the whole race has been so completely engaged in securing these things, or in seeking to possess these things,

8. "The key to the enigma of the universe is found in the doctrine of evolution. * * * To the physical, animal, vegetable, and even mineral worlds, the doctrine of evolution equally applies, and its significance is not confined to a necessary connection between the terms 'evolution,' 'man,' and 'monkey,' so often now-a-days found unalterably associated in the minds of the ignorant. The doctrine is a fundamental conception of all science—mental, moral, and physical. * * * The study of evolution in all its branches is the study of history; but history of different kinds. The study of the evolution of society is history in its highest and truest sense."—Melville: *The Evolution of Modern Society in Its Historical Aspect*; Smithsonian Report, 1891, pp. 507 * * * 21.

"* * * Socialism is, after all, in its fundamental conception, only the logical application of the scientific theory of natural evolution to economic phenomena."—Ferri: *Socialism and Modern Science*, p. 94.

9. "The secret of progress, the perpetual satisfying of wants followed by the springing up of new wants, is the secret of individual unrest and disappointment."—Toynbee: *Notes and Jottings*.

"The prime factors in social progress are the Community and its Environment. The environment of a community comprises all the circumstances, adjacent or remote, to which the community may be in

because of the power over others which their possession has given, that there has been neither the time nor the strength to give sufficient attention to other interests—to so withstand the force of the struggle for existence—as to make it possible to enable other things to make any very important mark on the life of the race.¹⁰

33. The Human Brain, With Both Base and Dome.

—It is not contended that there is no crown to the brain of man, with its aspirations, its ideals, its lofty purposes. It is claimed that the struggle for the existence of the individual and the struggle for the existence of the group of related individuals has been so intense that the seat of the vital functions, of hunger and of lust—that is, the base of the brain and not its dome—has had the mastery.

34. And so, if one wishes to learn what the masters have done, it must be looked for in the domain of

any way obliged to conform its actions. It comprises not only the climate of the country, its soil, its flora and fauna, its perpendicular elevation, its relation to the mountain-chains, the length of its coast line, the character of its scenery, and its geographical position with reference to other countries, but it includes also the ideas, feelings, customs and observances of past times, so far as they are preserved by literature, traditions, or monuments; as well as foreign contemporary manners and opinions, so far as they are known and regarded by the community in question. * * * * * The environment in our problem must, therefore, not only include psychical as well as physical factors, but the former are immeasurably the more important factors, and as civilization advances their relative importance steadily increases. * * * We have first to observe that it is a corollary from the law of use and disuse, and the kindred biologic laws which sum up the process of direct and indirect equilibration, that the fundamental characteristic of social progress is the continuous weakening of selfishness and the continuous strengthening of sympathy. Or—to use a more convenient and somewhat more accurate expression suggested by Comte—it is a gradual supplanting of egotism by altruism.—Fiske: *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, Vol. II., pp. 197, 201.

10. "It is abundantly true that human qualities and material conditions react on one another; and any student or social reformer is self-condemned who leaves either one or the other out of account."—Cunningham: *Modern Civilization—Its Economic Aspects*, p. 4.

"A closer analysis shows that the fundamental distinction between the animal and the human method is that the environment transforms the animal, while man transforms environment."—Ward: *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, p. 257.

the activities of these basic faculties. But the very existence of the higher faculties of man demonstrates the long continuance of the struggle for a hearing for the higher possibilities of human life. Either the whole theory of development is wrong, or else it has been the effort of the brain to function in the realm of aspiration, of veneration, of mutual beneficence, which has forced the growth and development of these portions of the upper human brain, now believed to be especially essential in order that these particular traits may be found in the character of their possessor. If the present has inherited the product of such activities, then its ancestry must have engaged in such activities.¹¹

35. Higher Activities Not Denied.—In looking for the principal cause of all political and social institutions at any time in the conditions under which the struggle for existence has been carried on at that time, it is not contended that there are no other forces besides economic needs. So far in the world's life, the other forces have not been able to achieve the mastery. If the struggle for existence, carried on only on the line of securing food, fuel, clothing and shelter, is the only possible motive for human activity, then there would be a most discouraging outlook for the race, for those who hope to see this struggle for existence made of secondary consideration. When further organization, better equipment and the collective ownership and control of industry shall make food, fuel, clothing and shelter the easy possession of all men, if these are all there is of life, what then shall spur men on to further achievements? There is more in life than food and raiment. The possession of these things will not rob life of its meaning. There are higher things in life. Their roots run far back in the life of the world and ground

11. The History of the world is none other than the progress of the consciousness of Freedom."—Hegel: *Philosophy of History* (Bohn Edition), pp. 19-20.

themselves in the most fundamental activities of the animal kingdom. But they are not yet the masters of man's activities.¹²

36. The Crucifixion of the Worthiest and the Survival of the Best Adapted.—Forever in the world's yesterdays, the ruling laws, the ruling institutions, the ruling ideals, the ruling morals, the ruling religions, have been the laws, institutions, ideals, morals and religions of the ruling forces; and the ruling forces, so far in the world's life, have been fighting for the control of the basic necessities,—for the most primitive needs of man. The highest ideals frequently rule in domestic relations. The devotion and sacrifice of parental regard give us glimpses of what man might be in his social relations. But so far in the life of the race, whenever individuals, in their social relations, have risen above these fundamental demands of subsistence and the activities resulting from them, they have been starved, or hanged, or crucified. And then the very forces which have crucified these heroes, for living in advance of their time, have adopted the cant phrases of the new life, have banished its spirit and have harnessed its enthusiasm to the same old "bread and butter" problem as before. The "bread and butter" problem has ruled in all the past. It will rule in the future until it is solved, and poverty and the fear of poverty shall no longer be able to terrorize the world.¹³

12. "One of the philosophical things that have been said in discriminating man from the lower animals, is that he is the one creature who is never satisfied. It is well for him that he is so, that there is always something more for which he craves. To my mind this fact strongly hints that man is infinitely more than a mere animate machine."—Fiske: *A Century of Science*, pp. 120-21.

"There are men who could neither be distressed nor won into a sacrifice of their duty; but this stern virtue is the growth of few soils; and in the main it will be found that a power over a man's support is a power over his will."—Alexander Hamilton: *The Federalist*, No. LXXIII.

13. "Taking man, however, for what he has thus far been and

Whoever would understand the past must look at all the problems of the past from the "bread and butter" standpoint. Whoever would have other forces rule the future must first solve for the future the "bread and butter" problem.

37. Darwin, Spencer, Marx.—These are the great natural truths which suggest and defend the theory of evolution, which Darwin applied to the study of the origin of the different kinds of animals, and which Herbert Spencer insisted must apply to all departments of thought, and Karl Marx definitely applied to the study of the labor problem, and so developed the scientific defense of the Socialist proposals.

38. This is what is usually meant by such phrases as, "the materialistic conception of history;"¹⁴ "the economic interpretation of history;" "the economic foundations of society," and "economic determinism." It will be seen that this insistence upon economic causes as of fundamental importance in economic and social discussions in no way denies the foundations of religion nor ignores any of the highest faculties of the human mind.

still is, it is difficult to deny that the underlying influence in its broadest aspects has very generally been of this economic character. The economic interpretation of history in its proper formulation, does not exhaust the possibilities of life and progress; it does not explain all the niceties of human development; but it emphasizes the forces which have hitherto been so largely instrumental in the rise and fall, in the prosperity and decadence, in the glory and failure, in the weal and woe of nations and peoples. It is a relative, rather than an absolute, explanation. It is substantially true of the past; it will tend to become less and less true of the future."—Seligman: *The Economic Interpretation of History*, pp. 157-58.

14. "In the social production of their every-day existence men enter into definite relations that are at once necessary and independent of their own volition—relations of production that correspond to a definite stage of their material powers of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real basis on which is erected the legal and political edifice and to which there correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The method of production in material existence conditions social, political and mental evolution in general."—Marx: *A Criticism on Political Economy*.

"It is, however, important to remember that the originators of

39. Summary.—1. All the races of men were once in savagery and barbarism.

2. The beginnings of all modern institutions may be found in savagery and barbarism.

3. A knowledge of the nature of the beginnings of modern institutions in savagery and barbarism and of their development from these humble origins is necessary to the understanding of modern institutions.

4. The principal controlling factors in the process of man's development, and of the institutions which he has established, are to be found in his struggle for existence and the means he has used and the organizations he has created to this end.

5. This does not mean that there are no other factors in human life, but that the problems involved in providing for existence must always be solved before other matters can be given just consideration.

the theory have themselves called attention to the danger of exaggeration. Toward the close of his career Engels, influenced no doubt by the weight of adverse criticism, pointed out that too much had sometimes been claimed for the doctrine. 'Marx and I,' he writes to a student in 1890, 'are partly responsible for the fact that the younger men have sometimes laid more stress on the economic side than it deserves. In meeting the attacks of our opponents it was necessary for us to emphasize the dominant principle, denied by them; and we did not always have the time, place or opportunity to let the other factors, which were concerned in the mutual action and reaction, get their deserts.' In another letter Engels explains his meaning more clearly:—'According to the materialistic view of history the factor which is in the last instance decisive in history is the production and reproduction of actual life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. But when any one distorts this so as to read that the economic factor is the sole element, he converts the statement into a meaningless, abstract, absurd phrase. The economic condition is the basis, but the various elements in the superstructure—the political forms of the class contests, and their results, the constitution—the legal forms, and also all the reflexes of these actual contests in the brains of the participants, the political, legal, philosophical theories, the religious views * * * all these exert an influence on the development of the historical struggles, and in many instances determine their form'."—Seligman: *The Economic Interpretation of History*, pp. 141-3.

" * * * I am convinced that to omit or neglect these economical facts is to make the study of history barren and unreal. With every effort that can be given to it, the narrative of the historian can never be much more than an imperfect or suggestive sketch. We

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. From what earlier condition of life have all civilized peoples arisen?
 2. In what way can one even now directly observe social activities like the earlier social activities of his own race?
 3. By what process has civilization come into existence?
 4. Were the earliest forms of human life ever "without experience and utterly helpless"?
 5. Why is the study of primitive life of great value to the student of social problems?
 6. Why are economic questions of such great importance in the study of all human usages and institutions?
 7. What has usually been the fate of the great idealists? Why?
 8. Does this mean that ideals are without value or that the struggle for the means of life is not only the most fundamental business of life, but the highest and worthiest possible undertaking?
 9. What is meant by the phrases:—"materialistic conception of history," "the economic interpretation of history," "the economic foundations of society," "economic determination"?
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may get the chronology correct, the sequence of events exact, the details of the campaigns precise, the changes of frontier reasonably accurate, but may still be far off from the controlling motives of public action, may be entirely in the dark as to the real cause of events."—Rogers: *Economic Interpretation of History*, pp. 6***12.

CHAPTER IV

THE ORDER OF PRIMITIVE PROGRESS

40. In the study of the life of man, it is found that the advance of the race falls into three grand divisions: Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization. Savagery and Barbarism are each subdivided into three periods, while Civilization is considered as a single period. We thus have seven periods in all.¹ In presenting this matter here, the classifications of Mr. Lewis H. Morgan are followed.² The information so arranged has been gathered from a large number of sources. The effort has been made to include nothing except those items regarding the truth of which the recognized students of these matters are in substantial agreement.

1. "The value of history lies not in the multitude of facts collected, but in their relation to each other."—Adams: *Law of Civilization and Decay*, Preface, V.

2. Morgan: *Ancient Society*, pp. 9-14.

"Before man could have attained to the civilized state it was necessary that he should gain all the elements of civilization. This implies an amazing change of condition, first from a primitive savage to a barbarian of the lowest type, and then from the latter to a Greek of the Homeric period, or a Hebrew of the time of Abraham. The progressive development which history records in the period of civilization was not less true of man in each of the previous periods.

"By re-ascending along the several lines of human progress toward the primitive ages of man's existence, and removing one by one his

41. First Period—Man With Only His Inheritance From His Animal Ancestry.—The first of these periods, which was in Savagery, covers the time after man's advance above the other animals to the human form and prior to the discovery and use of fire and the adding of fish to man's earlier diet of roots, fruits and nuts. There were then promiscuous relation of the sexes, no government, no arts, no inventions, no organizations of industry and no recognition of property.³

42. Second Period—Fire.—The second period, still in Savagery, began with the discovery of the use of fire and the use of fish as food. During this period the first division of labor was made by leaving the women about the fires while the men joined together in the fishing.⁴ The earliest forms of social organiza-

principal institutions, inventions, and discoveries, in the order in which they have appeared, the advance made in each period will be realized.—"Morgan: Ancient Society, pp. 29-30.

"Morgan deserves great credit for rediscovering and re-establishing in its main outlines this foundation of our written history, and of finding in the sexual organizations of the North American Indians the key that opens all the unfathomable riddles of most ancient Greek, Roman and German history. His book is not the work of a short day. For more than forty years he grappled with the subject, until he mastered it fully. Therefore his work is one of the few epochal publications of our time. * * * Morgan was the first to make an attempt at introducing a logical order into the history of primeval society. Until considerably more material is obtained, no further changes will be necessary and his arrangement will surely remain in force."—Engels: *Origin of the Family*, pp. 10-11, 27.

3. Westermarck and others have contended that promiscuous sex relations did not prevail in savagery, but the monogamic relations for which Westermarck contends were of such a nature as not to materially affect the argument that the family, like other institutions of modern society, has been developed as the result of economic causes, operating through long periods of time. The sex relations have constantly advanced in the direction of more and more exclusiveness from the beginning. First those not helping to keep the tribal fire on the one hand, and those not belonging to the corresponding fishing groups, on the other, were excluded. Then blood relations were excluded. Then those not personally attracted were excluded. Then those not dependent for support were excluded, and finally there remains but one more possible exclusion, and that is not possible under capitalism. It is the self-possession of all women and the consequent exclusion from sex relations of all those brought together in consideration of property interests.

4. Mason: *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, Introduction.

tion appear to have grown out of this division of labor: the women combining to guard the fire, and the men combining for fishing expeditions,—both groups growing into fixed relations along sex lines. The family also had its earliest form from the same causes, all of the men of the whole group became the husbands of all of the women of the corresponding group. In these groups, both men and women were of blood relation.⁵ But promiscuous sex relations outside the groups came to an end. The fires and the fishing grounds were held and used collectively.

43. Third Period—Bow and Arrow.—The third period, the last in Savagery, began with the use of the bow and arrow. During this period the family idea advanced to a stage under which all the women of a group were of blood relation, and the men not so related to each other; or all the men were of blood relation, and the women not so related to each other. The group marriage remained and promiscuous sex relations within the groups, but blood relations were not admitted into group relations across sex lines.

44. The gens appeared as an advance in government by which all of those belonging to the groups and maintaining relation of kinship after the above manner, were bound together in the common control of their common interests. To the diet of fruit, nuts, roots and fish, was added game, which the hunters, now equipped with the bow and arrow, were able to capture. There were further uses for fire and improvements in the camps. Industry was still carried on by the joint effort of all, and whatever productive property existed was held and used in common.⁶

45 Fourth Period—Pottery.—The fourth period, the first in Barbarism, began with the making and use

5. Mason: *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, p. 221.

6. Morgan: *Ancient Society*, pp. 525-527.

of pottery. This is believed to have been woman's invention, and the period is marked by a corresponding improvement in her work.⁷ The forms of government advanced by the gentes combining into larger groups. Each gens continued to maintain its separate existence as before, but the larger groups, called phratries, extended the idea of social organization. The family advanced to the point where each man or woman claimed, or might claim, some man or woman of the corresponding gens as especially his or hers, but this did not extend to the exclusive possession of each other, and each sex still lived by itself. There was still co-operative labor and common ownership of productive property.

46. Fifth Period—Taming the Animals.—The fifth period, the second in Barbarism, began with the taming and use of animals, the building of houses of adobe brick and stone, the cultivation of corn and the cereals and the use of irrigation in the cultivation of the ground. There was still co-operative labor and the collective ownership of all property collectively used, now including fields, herds and houses. The family did not change form. The phratries made combinations and thus formed tribes after the same manner as the gentes had combined to make the phratries. There was a great change in the diet and in the clothing of the people. A much larger portion of the earth was made habitable, and, consequently, as the herds grew in numbers, the population migrated looking for wider fields of pasturage. The permanent possession of definite territory by any given tribe became a matter of importance.⁸

47. Sixth Period—Iron.—The sixth period, the last

7. Mason: *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, Chap. V.

8. Ihering: *Evolution of the Aryans*, pp. 14-44, and 48-50; Morgan: *Ancient Society*, p. 540.

in Barbarism, began with the smelting of iron; and iron tools, together with iron weapons for hunting and for war, came into use. The tribes began to federate into nations. The stronger men began to contend for the exclusive possession of favorite women, and so polygamy came into being, as the practice of military leaders. It never became the established order of the common life. At the same time the relations between the men and the women of their mutual and special choice advanced toward the mutual and exclusive possession of each other. There were the beginnings of the modern family.⁹

48. Primitive Products and Inventions.—During this period there is found to have been in use rice, barley, wheat, corn, rye, oats, peas, beans and onions, gold, silver, brass, iron, tin and bronze, the sickle, the pruning knife, the distaff, the spindle, the shuttle and the loom, the harp and the shepherd's pipe, the dyke, bridge and the irrigation ditch, garments of cloth and shoes of leather, houses of stone and brick, the dog, sheep, goat, hog, cow and horse, the wagon of four wheels, the saddle, pottery, the basket, the mill for grinding, and sailing vessels.¹⁰

49. The labor of production was still the work of

9. "In primitive times sexual matters concerned the tribe, not the person. The end sought was the preservation of the group, and against it no individual had any rights, nor were his inclinations and feelings ever made the basis of duties or virtues. Where parentage is unimportant promiscuity is the rule. Especially in fighting clans it was necessary to offer every inducement for child-bearing. Festivals, feasts, and social gatherings were designed to provoke the passions.

"Under such conditions the first thought of a woman was, not to guard her chastity, but to escape barrenness. She knew that her position and probably her life depended upon her fertility. Chastity became a dominant virtue only after economic welfare had progressed so far that clans began to disintegrate. Before that time barrenness was the dread of every woman, and she would resort to every means to avoid it."—Professor Patten (University of Pennsylvania): *Development of English Thought*, p. 137.

10. All these are mentioned by Homer, who was the great poet of the last period of Barbarism.

women, but woman's work was beginning to be reinforced by slaves. These were men captured from other tribes. In the earliest wars, the fight was unto death for one group or the other. The victorious men would save the women alive and take them unto themselves, adding them to the body of their own wives, where they would make a part of the working force of the tribe. Slavery made its beginning by saving alive the men who would finally surrender, and taking them home to join the women in the tribal industry.¹¹ This was the result of one of the most important discoveries of all time—that a man is worth more alive than dead.

50 Barbarian Expansion.—The tribes were pressing upon each other for territory. The herds were outgrowing the pastures and the populations were outgrowing the smaller herds. Enlargement was necessary. To stay at home meant ruin through the limited means of life. To go abroad meant war. Whatever may be said of the early union of men within the tribes, there is no evidence whatever of any appreciation of any rights of any sort, for those outside the tribe. The gods of the tribes usually gave them all the land they wanted, without regard to whether it was already occupied or not, the only condition being that "they go up and take it."¹² The result was universal war. War was becoming the regular occupation of men. But war, like hunting and fishing, was a joint matter, and the lands, usually the herds, and always the products of hunting, fishing and the spoils of war, belonged to all in common.¹³

11. Morgan: *Ancient Society*, p. 540.

12. Gummere: *Germanic Origins*, Chapter IX.; Maine: *Ancient Law*, p. 125; Ihering: *Evolution of the Aryans*, pp. 19-20.

13. While I have followed Morgan's classifications, I have marked the periods as beginning with certain events, as serving my purpose better than as ending with certain other events. In this instance he mentions these items as belonging to near the end of Barbarism, while I mention them as marking the beginning of Civilization. The

51. Seventh Period—The Alphabet, War, Slavery and the Class Struggle.—The seventh period is that covered by Civilization. This period is said to have begun with the invention of the alphabet. The beginning of this period was also marked by the beginning of private property in herds and lands as well as slaves. The motive of war and the function of the military department speedily changed from an effort for relief from overcrowding to one of seeking power by conquering and appropriating to private use the herds and lands of others and reducing the populations of the conquered lands to slavery. In fact, it was the beginning of slavery as a dominant industrial institution, as the slave of an earlier day had been a kind of member of the tribe or family, but now the slaves were organized into camps by themselves—and the co-operative organization of industry gave way to slavery. Government changed from a free association based on kinship to an authority based wholly on force, and was made to cover all of the people on any given territory without regard to kinship.¹⁴ Society was divided into two classes, those who had forcibly taken the earth, and their slaves. The slaves were first the captives of war, and afterwards the slaves of their captors, and were compelled to produce with no direct interest in the products of their own labor. Labor became the badge of servitude and dependence. The laborer was disgraced, discredited, disinherited and disfranchised—and the age-long, world-wide, economic class struggle made its beginning.

52. Whence Slavery?—We are here dealing with one of the most important facts of all history: Whence came slavery? Whence came private property in land?

end of Barbarism is the same time as the beginning of Civilization, but I am able to make the relations of some events as the causes of other events more evident by speaking of them as I have done.

14. Gummere: *Germanic Origins*, Chapter IX.; Morgan: *Ancient Society*, Part II., Chapter XIII.

It is evident that the land was the primary object of attack, but the occupants, taken captive, were made slaves and set to work cultivating the land or caring for the herds. The land of conquered tribes was made the tribal property of the conquering tribe, at the same time that human beings were made the tribal property of the conquering tribe.

53. The Hunter and the Soldier.—The earlier wars had been wars solely of defense, and the military leader had not been a very important character within his own tribe, where the purest primitive democracy prevailed in all matters within the tribe. It was only when war had become an important method of enriching the tribe that the successful warrior came to surpass in importance both the hunter and the herdsman, and the mighty hunter became the builder of military power.¹⁵ It was war which led to the discovery that it was easier to steal cattle than to raise them, easier to get wealth by appropriating the products of others than by producing the wealth at home. Appropriation paid better and became more honorable than production. Appropriation became the work of the soldier, production the work of the slave. Even then private property in land and slaves had not appeared. The whole class of the conquerors appropriated and held in common both the lands and the whole class of those whom they had made landless by war.

54. Robbing the Robbers.—But the stronger men, who had first privately appropriated the favorite women among those who were conquered, and so established polygamy, began to use, for private advantage, the tribal power to capture slaves and lands and then to

15. "And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord: wherefore it is said, like Nimrod a mighty hunter before the Lord. And the beginning of his Kingdom was Babel and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar."—Genesis: 10:8, 9, 10, 11.

privately appropriate the lands and slaves which had before been appropriated by their tribes. The victorious tribes appropriated by war both the lands and the people of the conquered tribes, and in so doing developed the strong military man who in turn used the military power, created and formerly used in order to enrich his tribe, now to enrich himself instead. War between the tribes extended tribal power and multiplied the number of the tribal slaves, but these chief warriors robbed the robbers; that is, they appropriated to themselves the lands and slaves which their own tribes were seeking to appropriate from other tribes, and thus made the beginning in the private ownership of both land and slaves. And in this manner, war between the tribes seeking for a wider means of support, first made the whole class of captives the slaves of the whole class of their captors. And then the development of the strong military man within the tribes made possible the private possession of both the conquered lands and the conquered peoples. And here at last private ownership of both land and slaves is the further fruit of war.

55. Subjection of Woman.—The parentage of children among the master classes became of great importance, as fixing the descent of property, and thus on a property basis the family was finally composed of one man and one woman and their children begotten together.¹⁶ And here, also, the leisure class made its appearance. The women, who had been the first inventors, who had both created all primitive industry and had long continued to manage the industries they

16. "With the establishment of the inheritance of property in the children of its owner, came the first possibility of the monogamian family. Gradually though slowly, this form of marriage, with an exclusive cohabitation, became the rule rather than the exception; but it was not until civilization had commenced that it became permanently established."—Morgan: *Ancient Society*, p. 505.

had created—now became workers with the slaves, and slaves with the workers, with no voice in the direction of their own industry, but subject to the slave-driver's lash along with all other workers; either that, or the wives or the concubines of the soldiers, not to be discredited by toil, but to be guarded and imprisoned, in order that the paternity of the child should not be in doubt. They were both petted and ruled, both the subjects and the playthings of their masters.

56. Achievements of Primitive Society.—It has been claimed that the last half century has seen more advance than all the previous life of man. But this is not the case. It would be as true to say that during the ten days of harvest, the fields yield more than during all the year besides. The fruits which are gathered then are the products of all the year, and of all the years which have gone before. Live stock breeding, the cereals, houses, clothes, machinery, roads and other means of transportation and communication—in the development of such things as these, all of which had their beginnings in Barbarism, the last fifty years has seen many very great improvements. But the discovery of fire, the development of speech from the babble of beasts to the language of “articulately-speaking men,” the development of the family and the creation of society on a basis of fraternity and equality, all of these and most of the former tasks were carried to a high degree of excellence before the coming of Civilization and all under co-operative labor and the common ownership of productive property. As related to the existence, the comfort and the liberty of the race, the discovery of fire, the creation of language, the building of the family, the organizing of free society,—not one of these has been equaled or

even approached by any of the great inventions of the last century.¹⁷

57. Mechanical Ancestry.—The modern steam-plow has grown up from the crooked stick and ox team, which in turn were a vast improvement over the first sharpened stick with which the soil was turned and which was the common ancestor of all the spades, hoes, rakes, plows and harrows in existence. The modern palace is the distant offspring of the ancient hovel, or of the earliest nest or cave. Modern garments are the children of the ancient coverings of leaves and skins, as is the modern loom the outgrowth of the simple devices used in making the first hand-formed cloth, made from the finger-twisted threads of the earliest workers as they watched the fires and waited for the returning fishermen. The modern railway and steamship lines

17. "Modern civilization recovered and absorbed whatever was valuable in the ancient civilizations; and although its contributions to the sum of human knowledge have been vast, brilliant and rapid, they are far from being so disproportionately large as to overshadow the ancient civilizations and sink them into comparative insignificance. * * *

"The achievements of civilized man, although very great and remarkable, are nevertheless very far from sufficient to eclipse the works of man as a barbarian. As such he had wrought out and possessed all the elements of civilization, excepting alphabetic writing. His achievements as a barbarian should be considered in their relation to the sum of human progress; and we may be forced to admit that they transcend in relative importance all his subsequent works. The use of writing, or its equivalent, in hieroglyphics upon stone, affords a fair test of the commencement of civilization."—Morgan: *Ancient Society*, pp. 30-31.

"Man's intellect is ever the same—it moves in a sphere having a fixed and inexpandible upper limit, which has been reached from time to time by individual geniuses. But there is an apparent progress arising from the fact that from place to place and time to time an intellect of equal power finds footing upon the total accomplishments of his predecessors and uses them as the starting point of further successes; not that later generations work with higher or more complete intellects, but with larger means accumulated by earlier generations, with better instruments, so to speak, and so obtain greater results. So it is of course impossible to deny progress in the field of invention and discovery—but it would be a mistake to explain it from the greater perfection, or the progress of the human intellect. An inventive Greek of ancient times, if he had followed Watt, would have invented the locomotive—and if he could

are the direct descendants of the old carrying trails and the canoe-riding carriers of the savage days. Both the modern family and the modern state are the natural and inevitable outgrowth of the old gentes, which were in turn the children of the groups of the savage and animal life which preceded the tribal organizations.

58. Brotherhood.—Modern life has wrought out many things at the hands of men. Primitive life wrought out the coming of man himself, for it was during these thousand centuries of common property and society based on kinship—the kinsmen acting co-operatively—that the sentiment of brotherhood within the tribes was so wrought into the life of the race

have known the arrangement of the electrical telegraph, it certainly might have occurred to him to construct a telephone.

“Between human intellect four thousand years ago and today there is no qualitative difference nor any greater development or perfection—only the completed labor of all intervening generations inures to the advantage of the modern intellect, which, with this accumulated supply, to-day accomplishes apparently greater ‘miracles’ than the like intellect four thousand years ago did without it. But, in fact, laying aside the advantages of the former, the latter accomplished no less wonderful things.”—Gumplowicz: *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 208-9.

“The history of a nation’s industry must necessarily date back to prehistoric times and to the earliest stages of national life. For the history of industry is the history of civilization, and a nation’s economic development must, to a large extent, underlie and influence the course of its social and political progress. Hence it has been aptly remarked (Cunningham: *Growth of Industry*, I., p. 7) that there is no fact in a nation’s history but has some traceable bearing on the industry of the time, and no fact that can be altogether ignored as if it were unconnected with industrial life. The progress of mankind is written in the history of its tools’ (Walpole: *Land of Home Rule*, p. 15); and to the economic historian the transition from the axehead of stone to that of bronze is quite as important as a change of dynasty; and certainly, in its way, it is as serious an industrial revolution as the change from the hand-loom to machinery.”—Gibbins: *Industry in England*, p. 3.

“Human progress, from first to last, has been in a ratio not rigorously but essentially geometrical. This is plain on the face of the facts; and it could not, theoretically, have occurred in any other way. Every item of absolute knowledge gained became a factor in further acquisitions, until the present complexity of knowledge was attained. Consequently, while progress was slowest in time in the first period, and most rapid in the last, the relative amount may

that it still survives five thousand years¹⁸ of suffering and oppression at the hands of the anti-social and unbrotherly military power which first transformed society from the basis of kinship and mutual interest into that of force, and then used the force to usurp for the few the common inheritance of all.

59. Economic Causes.—During Savagery and Barbarism there were no economic classes—there was no world-wide class struggle. But at every step, the economic cause of the new advance is made evident.¹⁹ Each new discovery, each new invention, meant new life to the world; and, using the new economic agencies, the steps were taken which still again led to other and to other achievements.

The use of fire, the bow and arrow, the discovery of pottery, the domestication of animals, the discovery of the smelting and use of iron, and finally of the al-

have been greatest in the first, when the achievements of either period are considered in their relations to the sum. It may be suggested as not improbable of ultimate recognition, that the progress of mankind in the period of savagery, in its relations to the sum of human progress, was greater in degree than it was afterward in the three sub-periods of barbarism; and that the progress made in the whole period of barbarism was, in like manner, greater in degree than it has been since in the entire period of civilization."—Morgan: *Ancient Society*, p. 38.

18. "It must be regarded as a marvelous fact that a portion of mankind five thousand years ago, less or more, attained to civilization."—Morgan: *Ancient Society*, p. 553.

19. "A technical want felt by society is more of an impetus to science than ten universities."—Engels interpreting the position of Marx, quoted by Seligman in "The Economic Interpretation of History," p. 59.

"The stationary condition of the human race is the rule, the progressive the exception."—Maine: *Ancient Law*, p. 23.

"What I wish particularly to point out is that what man asks from the soil is primarily nutrition—only nutrition, a living. It is the 'food-quest' which has been so vividly portrayed in American primitive life by Mindeleff and so fully set forth by Mason: the tribe enslaved by the soil; its laws, religion, customs, hopes, and fears wrapped up and submerged in the desperate strife for food. Only where there is a surplus, where wealth rises above want, is it possible for the group to free itself from this bondage to the clod,—to become more than 'an adscript of the glebe.'

"The relations between man and the fauna and flora of the re-

phabet—these were the creative forces, one after another, which suggested new advantages, in the long struggle for existence, first of individuals, then groups, then the gens, then the phratry, then the nation, and then a new factor in the world's life, which we shall trace in these pages, the creation of clashing economic classes and of world-conquest in order to appropriate rather than to produce.

60. Slaves and Soldiers.—A new world of slaves and soldiers, struggling against each other, has succeeded the old world of tribal brothers struggling for each other. Barbarism has ceased. Civilization has come. No wonder Carpenter speaks of its "cause and cure."

61. Summary.—1. It will be noticed from the foregoing that from the earliest advance of the race until the coming of Civilization, co-operative industry, common property, and government based on kinship and not on force, had covered the whole previous history of mankind.

2. It is seen from this study of primitive industry that when man came to use the resources of the earth, it never occurred to him for a thousand centuries that it could belong to only a portion of the race. When he did come to that conclusion, slavery and the sub-

gion has been traced by Pickering and others in the distribution of plants cultivated by man for his food, use, or pleasure. They have been rightly named by Gerland 'the levers of his elevation.' Especially the cereals supplied him a regular, appropriate, and sufficient nutrition. Their product was not perishable, like fruit, but could be stored against the season of cold and want. Their cultivation led to a sedentary life, to the clearing and tillage of the soil, to its irrigation, and to the study of the seasons and their changes."—Brinton: *The Basis of Social Relations*, p. 190.

"The most advanced portion of the human race were halted, so to express it, at certain stages of progress, until some great invention or discovery, such as the domestication of animals or the smelting of iron ore, gave a new and powerful impulse forward."—Morgan: *Ancient Society*, pp. 39-40.

jection of woman came along with the private appropriation of the natural resources.

3. Again, it will be noticed that in his effort to use the earth and to develop its resources as the means of his support, for a like period, all of the people worked co-operatively both in the hunting, fishing and fighting, by the men, and in the cultivation of the soil and the development of household industries, by the women, both of which groups lived and worked under practical industrial democracies.

4. It is seen that this common possession of portions of the earth and the co-operative use of this natural working plant by groups of kinsmen, were both destroyed by slavery which was established in the world by war, and that the wars came because of economic necessity.

5. It was under co-operative labor and common ownership of productive property that the whole line of discoveries and achievements were effected which make up the triumphs of primitive society.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Name the great periods of man's history and mention the particular events which have marked the beginning of each.

2. What was characteristic of the life of man at the beginning of Savagery?

3. What was the occasion for the first division of labor?

4. What was the form of the first social organization and of the first family?

5. Trace the nation back through the simpler organizations out of which it has grown.

6. Trace the family in the same manner.

7. During what periods did co-operative industry and the common ownership of productive property exist, and how were they overthrown?

8. What was the relation of slavery to barbarian war?

9. State some of the achievements of primitive industry.

10. Name fruits, grains, animals and tools in use at the beginning of civilization.

11. How do the achievements of primitive society compare with modern inventions?

12. Whence came the sentiment of brotherhood?

13. What things marked the beginning of civilization?

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY OF PART FIRST

62. A Summary of Part First.—1. Society is divided into economic classes: One class is composed of masters, the other class is composed of servants.

2. The basis of this mastery and servitude, and the resulting dependence and poverty of the many is found in the private ownership and private control of the means of producing the means of life.

3. In the study of current institutions, it is necessary to look for their origins, in the usages of the earlier forms of social life.

4. This method of investigation is the scientific method. It is simply the theory of evolution applied to the study of social and economic problems.

5. Following this method it is found that, thus far, in the life of the race, the world has been so incompletely mastered and industry has been so inadequately organized, as to require the expenditure of so large a share of human energy in the battle for life, that it may fairly be said that the economic factors have been the dominant factors in human life.

6. During the primitive life of the race, economic development did not take the form of class struggles. Nevertheless, each great advance in man's improve-

ment during this period was the result of an economic cause—for example, the discovery of the use of fire, the invention of the bow and arrow, the making of pottery, the domestication of animals, the smelting of iron and the invention of the alphabet, have been seen to have been events of epoch-making power and importance.

7. The barbarian inter-tribal wars resulted in making masters of some tribes and slaves of others, and in this way made a beginning of the economic class war.

8. Great advances were made during savagery and barbarism, and throughout the many thousands of years of these periods, there were no economic masters or economic dependents; government was based on kinship and mutual interest, and both co-operative labor and collective ownership prevailed throughout this primitive life of the race, and ceased only with the coming of slavery and the subjection of woman, both of which were caused by war.

PART II

THE EVOLUTION OF CAPITALISM

CHAPTER VI

SLAVERY

63. Evolution.—In the study of the evolution of capitalism, it should be borne in mind that capitalism, in its modern form, had its roots in the life of primitive society. The complete story of the evolution of capitalism would involve the whole story, thus far, of the social development of the race. Single effects are not results of single causes.¹ All social causes, in proportion to their power, co-operate together in the production of all social effects. Each effect in its

1. Unfortunately, few historians have thought it worth while to study seriously the economic factors in the history of nations. They have contented themselves with the intrigues and amusements of courtiers and kings, the actions of individual statesmen or the destructive feats of military heroes. They have often failed to explain properly the great causes which necessitated the results they claim to investigate. But just as it is impossible to understand the growth of England without a proper appreciation of the social and industrial events which rendered that growth possible, and provided the expenses which that growth entailed, so it will be impossible to proceed in the future without a systematic study of economic and industrial affairs. For the great political questions of the day are becoming more and more economic questions."—Gibbons: *Industry in England*, p. 4/3.

turn becomes a social cause for further social effects. Hence the chain of the development of capitalism may be traced backward throughout the life of the race. Nevertheless, it can be fairly said that the leading features of capitalism—that is, private monopoly in the ownership, private tyranny in the management, and inequality of opportunity in the use of the means of producing the means of life—made their beginning in the world with the coming of slavery. But slavery came as the direct result of the inter-tribal barbarian wars and the military usurpation of the barbarian chieftains, and thus the seeds of capitalism were rooted in barbarism. In fact, when civilization succeeded barbarism, the passion for the ownership of things had become the dominant passion of the race.²

64. The Struggle for Land.—The permanent possession of the herds and lands by the tribes, had become of the most vital importance as a means of life. The growing tribes had struggled with each other as they had trespassed on each other's territory.³ Inter-

2. Morgan: *Ancient Society* pp. 6, 540.

3. "The first step in the struggle of races is that of the conquest of one race by another. Among races that have pushed their boundaries forward until they meet and begin to overlap war usually results. If one race has devised superior weapons or has greater strategic abilities than the other it will triumph and become a conquering race. The other race drops into the position of a conquered race. The conquering race holds the conquered race down and makes it tributary to itself. At the lowest stages of this process there was practical extermination of the conquered race. The Hebrews were scarcely above this stage in their wars upon the Canaanites, but that seems to have been a special outburst of savagery in a considerably advanced race. The lowest savages are mostly cannibals. After the carnivorous habit had been formed, the eating of human flesh was a natural consequence of the struggle of the races. The most primitive wars were scarcely more than hunts, in which man was the mutual game of both contending parties. But at a later and higher stage head hunting, cannibalism, and the extermination of the conquered race, were gradually replaced by different forms of slavery. Success in conquering weaker races tended to develop predatory or military races, and the art of organizing armies received special attention. Such armies were at length used to make war on remote races, who were thus conquered and held under strong military power. Here the conquered would so greatly outnumber the conquering that extermination

tribal alliances had produced the nations, and great armies were the result. The chief men of the tribes, as well as of the nations, had become important as military leaders.

65. Tribes Enslaved.—The conquered tribes were enslaved by the conquerors. As the victorious tribes extended their territory and enlarged their armies, the maintenance of these armies involved great industrial organizations. The military leader became not only the commander in battle, but also the master of industry.⁴ The workers were the tribes conquered in war and then made slaves to provide the support of their conquerors.

66. The Social and the Military.—The mutual relations of the people within the tribes became of less importance than the relations of all of the people to these new inter-tribal or national organizations. The

would be impracticable. The practice was then to preserve the conquered race and make it tributary to the wealth of the conquering race. Prisoners of war were enslaved, but the mass of the people was allowed to pay tribute.”—Ward: *Pure Sociology*, pp. 204-205.

“The theory seems to be well settled that this archaic form of organization and of collective land-ownership by groups of men, united by the family tie, was common to all the races which compose the Aryan family. The traces of such a system have been established from Ireland to Hindoostan. * * * With the first advance in the path of civilization the principle of collective land-ownership naturally gave way to individual ownership. And such has been the transition through which the village community in most countries has passed.”—Taylor: *The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution*, Vol. I., p. 100.

4. “The barbarous isolation of families ceases when the strongest and most powerful force the weaker into their service. It is now that the division of labor [by classes] really begins: The victor devotes himself entirely to work of a higher order, to statesmanship, war, worship, etc.; the very doing of which is generally a pleasure in itself. The vanquished perform the lower. The one-half of the people are forced to labor for something beyond their own brute wants.”—Roscher: *Political Economy*, Vol. I., p. 211.

“There is a double life in the state; we can clearly distinguish the activities of the state as a whole, as a single structure, from those emanating from the social elements.

“The activities of the state as a whole originate in the sovereign class, which acts with the assistance or with the compulsory acquiescence of the subject class. * * * In particular, the superior class seeks to make the most productive use of the subject classes; as a rule this leads to oppression and can always be con-

old relations had been based on kinship and mutual interest, and the affairs of the tribes had been administered by practical co-operative democracies. The new organizations were subject to military necessity, rather than to the instincts of kinship; and the relations of the military organization extended to the whole body of the people found on any given territory.

Before this the life of the world had been made up most largely of social relations. The word social is derived from the word "societas," or "society," and means—of, or pertaining to, the affairs of the whole body of the people. The people were everything, and the city did not exist. Whatever organization did exist was solely for the benefit of the people, and had been controlled by them through their tribal associations. Now the city made its appearance, and the city

sidered as exploitation."—Gumplowicz: *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 116-17.

"There have been three ways in which great political bodies have arisen. The earliest and lowest method was that of conquest without incorporation. A single powerful tribe conquered and annexed its neighbors without admitting them to a share in the government. It appropriated their military strength, robbed them of most of the fruits of their labor, and thus virtually enslaved them. Such was the origin of the great despotic empires of Oriental type. Such states degenerate rapidly in military strength. Their slavish populations accustomed to be starved and eaten or massacred by the tax-gatherers, become unable to fight, so that great armies of them will flee before a handful of freemen, as in the case of the ancient Persians and the modern Egyptians. To strike down the executive head of such an assemblage of enslaved tribes is to effect the conquest or the dissolution of the whole mass, and hence the history of Eastern peoples has been characterized by sudden and gigantic revolutions.

"The second method of forming great political bodies was that of conquest with incorporation. The conquering tribe, while annexing its neighbors, gradually admitted them to a share in the government. In this way arose the Roman empire, the largest, the most stable, and in its best days the most pacific political aggregate the world has yet seen. Throughout the best part of Europe its conquests succeeded in transforming the ancient predatory type of society into the modern industrial type. It effectually broke up the primal clan-system, with its narrow ethical ideas, and arrived at the broad conception of rights and duties coextensive with humanity. But in the method upon which Rome proceeded there was an essential element of weakness. The simple device of representation by which political power is equally retained in all parts of the community while

was everything and the people were nothing. The old city was a fortified place. It was sometimes entirely without population, but it was a walled city, with or without population, ready to be occupied and to be used in case of need for military purposes.⁵

67. The City—Politics and Militarism.—The original city was a military affair and the original politics had to do with the affairs of a military establishment. The word "politics" is derived from the word "polis," which is the Greek word for "city," and the city from which the meaning of "politics" was originally taken, was a fortified place. Society, based originally on the purpose of providing for the welfare of the whole people, gave way to the state, based on the military necessities of the fortified cities. The administration of public affairs was no longer democratic, but military. The activities of the state were two-fold, at home and abroad. At home its activities were industrial, abroad they were military. Away from home, the state acted through a soldier. At home, the state

its exercise is delegated to a central body, was entirely unknown to the Romans. Partly for this reason, and partly because of the terrible military pressure to which the frontier was perpetually exposed, the Roman government became a despotism which gradually took on many of the vices of the Oriental type. The political weakness which resulted from this allowed Europe to be overrun by peoples organized in clans and tribes and for some time there was a partial retrogression toward the disorder characteristic of primitive ages. The retrogression was but partial and temporary, however; the exposed frontier has been steadily pushed eastward into the heart of Asia; the industrial type of society is no longer menaced by the predatory type; the primeval clan-system has entirely disappeared as a social force; and warfare, once ubiquitous and chronic, has become local and occasional.

"The third and highest method of forming great political bodies is that of federation. The element of fighting was essential in the two lower methods, but in this it is not essential. Here there is no conquest, but a voluntary union of small political groups into a great political group. Each little group preserves its local independence intact, while forming part of an indissoluble whole. Obviously this method of political union requires both high intelligence and high ethical development."—Fiske: *The Destiny of Man*, pp. 86-90. See also Fiske: *American Political Ideas*.

5. Kitto: Vol. II., p. 868.

acted by means of a slave, whose obedience and industry were enforced by a soldier. The military organization and the military spirit commanded both the soldier and the slave, and in both cases the motive for action was no longer for the common good of all, but the purpose now was to strengthen and support the military establishment. The great cities of the ancient world were simply military camps and slave camps combined.⁶

68. Conquered Tribes and Private Lands.—The employment of these slaves for this purpose also involved the use of great tracts of land, and the same military power which had enslaved the conquered tribes took—also by the same power of war—the lands along with the people. It has been seen how the land was made the personal estates of the military leaders, and how the territorial extension of the early states was affected by the inter-tribal alliances, which increased the number of soldiers; and the inter-tribal wars, which both increased the slave populations and the great privately owned landed estates.

69. Not the Oldest Form of Labor.—All of the ancient civilizations were built on slavery. This fact has led to the general impression that slavery was the old-

6. "From the moment that private possession in the means of production arose, exploitation and the division of society into two hostile classes, standing opposed to each other through their interest, also began."—Liebknecht: *Socialism—What It Is, and What It Seeks to Accomplish*, p. 39.

"It is well understood by historical students that ancient slavery was a great step in human progress. But, whatever its merits, the consideration of slavery introduces a much larger subject—the place of class relations in social development as a whole. In its material aspect, property in men is an institution by means of which one class of people appropriates the labor products of another class without economic repayment. This relation is brought about by other institutions than slavery. For instance, if a class engross the land of a country, and force the remainder of the population to pay rent, either in kind or in money, for the use of the soil, such a procedure issues, like slavery, in the absorption of labor products by an upper class without economic repayment.

"We have observed the origin of social cleavage into upper and

est and original form of industry. It was seen in the preceding chapters that such was not the case. Slavery was not a relic of barbarism. There is no evidence that slavery was an institution of primitive life. On the contrary, evidence that it did not exist until the closing years of barbarism and the beginning of civilization, is overwhelming. It is important that these points be borne in mind.

70. We can afford to dwell on this matter at some length. It has an important bearing on the development and on the relations of all social and industrial institutions.

It is held, then, that chattel slavery did not exist prior to the beginning of civilization, in fact, that the beginning of civilization is especially marked by the beginning of slavery. And this is held to be the case for the following reasons:

71. **Traditions.**—1. The usages and traditions of the Germanic tribes all imply the prevalence of liberty. Chattel slavery had no existence among them. The men sold into slavery as the result of Roman conquest, were captives from among the freemen of the fields and forests of the North. They had to be made slaves after they had been made captives.⁷

72. **Roman Law.**—2. According to the Roman law all men were assumed to have been free by the laws of nature, and slaves to have become such only by the contrary law of nations, that is, by conquest. There is no other reasonable explanation of this Roman interpretation of nature—so directly in conflict with their own national law, then in force—than that it was

lower strata, on this general basis at the inception of social development. If we scrutinize the field carefully, it is evident that one of the greatest and most far-reaching facts of ancient civilization, as it emerges from the darkness of prehistoric times, as well as one of the most considerable facts of subsequent history is just this cleavage of society into two principal classes.”—Wallis: *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VII., pp. 764-65, May, 1902.

7. Guizot: *History of Civilization (Lectures)*, Chapter II.

a survival by tradition of a preceding condition in which all men were free.⁸

73. Primitive Democracies.—3. Slavery nowhere originated by the tribes making slaves of their own members. The Theocracy of the Jews, the Republic of the Romans, and the Democracies of the Greeks, were survivals within these ancient tribes of the original democracies which, until destroyed by war, existed among all primitive peoples. Primitive tribal lines had to be broken down before slavery could exist. They were broken down by war and at the beginning of civilization. The early Hebrew scriptures mark the passage of the Jews from barbarism into civilization. It is quite commonly supposed that the compromise of Moses on the subject of slavery was a compromise with an old abuse. The contrary is the fact. It was a compromise of barbarian liberty with new conditions. And even then, the members of the tribes were forbidden to make slaves of the members of their own race.⁹

The Mosaic land system was, in the same way, a survival, modifying the early horrors of the private appropriation of the earth. It was not a new idea specially provided and devised to make right old wrongs. It was a direct inheritance of barbarian usage outliving barbarism and, with a religious sanction, vainly striving to control the economic conditions of a new era.

74. Old Words for Slave.—4. Among the Greeks, the word slave is also the word for captive, and in reading in the Greek language one can tell whether a slave or a captive is referred to only by the relations of this word to other words in the same passage. The word slave itself indicates the origin of slavery. It

8. "By natural right all men are born free; by right of nations (i. e., conquest) slavery has come in."—Justinian Code, Book IV., L., XVII., 52.

9. "If thy brother, an Hebrew man or an Hebrew woman, be

comes from the old word Slav, a member of the Slavonic race. Southern European wars were making captives,—and so slaves,—of so many Slavs, or members of Slavonic tribes, that the tribal name of the captives staid with them in bondage and finally became the name applied to all bondmen, regardless of their nationality.¹⁰

If the ancient tribes made slaves only of captives, if the members of their own tribes were exempt—then it is clear that the beginning of conquest was the beginning of slavery. But the beginning of conquest was the beginning of civilization.

75. Primitive Burials.—5. Under slavery industry is discredited. The primitive peoples buried with their dead the tools of their simple industry.¹¹ Things so buried with the dead were marks of honor. Under slavery they would have been marks of disgrace. Either primitive peoples studied to discredit their dead, or slavery did not exist.

Who would think of burying with the remains of a departed relative, who had been imprisoned, the striped clothes or the handcuffs—in order to extend the evil record to the tomb? Either primitive peoples thus treated their own dead, or slavery did not exist.

76. Indians Without Slaves.—6. Savages, whose condition of advance toward civilization has not reached that point which had been reached by the ancient peoples when slavery is known to have existed among them, do not now have slaves, except as they have copied the system from their civilized neighbors. The American Indians did not maintain any system of

sold unto thee, and serve thee six years, then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee. And when thou lettest him go free from thee, thou shalt not let him go empty: thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy threshing-floor and out of thy winepress: as the Lord thy God hath blessed thee thou shalt give unto him.”—Deuteronomy, Chapter XV., 12-15.

10. Ingram: *History of Slavery*, p. 5.

11. Morgan: *Ancient Society*.

slavery among themselves, and they doggedly died when forced into slavery rather than submit to the loss of their barbarian liberty.¹² The Indians of the Indian Territory copied the institution of black slavery from their white neighbors. And when the whole country was reorganized politically on the question of the disposition of the western public lands, the Indians of that territory were divided along the same lines as their white neighbors. It is an interesting thing to note that when the war was over, the Indians who had sided with the North sought to have their tribes disown those who had served with Confederate troops and so exclude them from any interest in the tribal lands. The United States government appointed a special commission to investigate the matter, and the commission not only recommended the government to maintain the tribal rights of those who had been southern troops, but it went further and insisted that the negroes, who before the war had been the slaves of the Indians, were also entitled to full tribal rights and hence to their share of the tribal property. The government adopted the recommendation and enforced that arrangement. But that was among the Indians. In no other portion of the country were property rights of the emancipated negroes, in the social values of the community, recognized.

77. Negroes Not Originally in Slavery.—The African negroes, who were sold into slavery in Africa by the victorious tribes or by their military masters, were not slaves in Africa. They were free barbarians, or

12. "To the barbarian of the lower stage a slave was of no use. The American Indians therefore, treated their vanquished enemies in quite a different way from nations of a higher stage. The men were tortured or adopted as brothers into the tribe of the victors. The women were married or likewise adopted with their surviving children. The human labor power at this stage does not yet produce a considerable amount over and above its cost of subsistence. But the introduction of cattle raising, metal industry, weaving, and finally agriculture wrought a change. Just as the once easily ob-

savages. So determined were they not to become slaves that some thirty per cent. of all the negro captives died in the process of being forced into slavery, not by barbarians or savages, but by the most highly civilized countries in the world. And so it is seen that slavery was distinctly an institution of civilization.

For four thousand years, whatever portion of the earth was civilized, was fed and clothed by slaves. During all this time the barbarian was a freeman, except as captured and forced into slavery by his civilized neighbors, or except as he advanced toward civilization and began the development of slavery through inter-tribal wars after the same manner as slavery had at the first been established among the nations already civilized. Egypt, Persia, Greece, Carthage and Rome were all of them military creations, and the whole life of these ancient peoples was made brutal and corrupt, not by slavery alone, but by the armies which compelled the slaves to build the rude camps for those who toiled and the thrones and palaces for those who killed.

78. Cruelties.—It is not necessary—and it would be impossible—to state the horrors of these long centuries of bondage. Men, women and children, philosophers, poets, artists, statesmen, the wisest and bravest of men, were condemned to slavery by men of their own race—and frequently in every way their inferiors¹³—and held in bondage, where they were chained together in gangs and flogged to their tasks without mercy and slain without redress. The slave had lost all rights in war, so it was held, before he was made a

tainable wives now had an exchange value and were bought, so labor power was now procured, especially since the flocks had definitely become private property. The family did not increase as rapidly as the cattle. More people were needed for superintending; for this purpose the captured enemy was available, and, besides, he could be increased by breeding like the cattle.”—Engels: *Origin of the Family*, p. 67.

13. “So in the midst of the magnificence of the Roman power, we perceive only a confused mass of proletaires, enslaved, free, do-

slave in the first place. And hence the masters held the power of life and death, the power to compel all degrees of suffering and all manner of degradation, the power to enforce unwilling and unmentionable debauchery. The innocence of childhood, the helplessness of those outworn with toil and with the years, the enforced nakedness and debauchery of women, every faculty and function of whose bodies were held as the property of others; strong men compelled to slay each other for the entertainment of seeing them die together—these were the toys with which brutality and lust amused themselves for forty centuries.

79. Products of Slave Labor.—The cities, palaces and pyramids of Egypt, the hanging gardens and the wide and endless walls of Babylon, the temples, the harbors, the ships and markets of Greece, the stone roads which traversed all lands of the then known world, the fortresses, the camps, the villas and the mines, the pavements, waterways, coliseums and the fields and the vineyards of Rome, and across the Mediterranean and in Spain, the works of Rome's greatest rival, Carthage,—all were the products of the toil of slaves.

80. Slavery in the United States.—Something ought to be said about slavery and serfdom in the United States. The old slavery, which made slaves or serfs of many of the ancestry of the people who finally became the settlers of this country, had practically disappeared when the enslavement of the black man was undertaken in Europe. It was never able to make any headway in the old country, where wage labor could be secured on such terms as always made the labor of

mestic and artisan, who work to furnish supplies for the unproductive consumption of the great owners of capital and of lands. The liberal arts, so glorious and so noble, are abandoned to servile hands; medicine even is practiced only by slaves."—Blanqui: *History of Political Economy*, p. 57.

(On page 83, same work, Blanqui speaks of "ancient civilization, wholly founded on slavery.")

the black slave unprofitable. The cotton, sugar and tobacco plantations of the new world, however, furnished an opening where labor was so scarce and the profits were so great that the black slave worker could be maintained at a profit for his master; and so, in countries producing these things, the slavery of a subject race outlived the institution of slavery in other countries where wage workers were numerous, and the opportunities for production limited to the usual employments.¹⁴ It is needless to argue that the black man would always have worked better for wages. The fact is, that he could not have been obtained for pay at any price. The destruction of his liberty was the sole condition on which he could be secured at all. When force no longer kidnaped and compelled the African to become a worker, civilization had no reward by which he could be induced to accept what the employer could give in exchange for his African life. Immigration continued from civilized Europe, not from barbarian Africa.

81. Destroyed by War—Wage System Pays Better.
—Negro chattel slavery was incidentally destroyed by the war to preserve the Union. The former masters have acquiesced in this, because, with the black man once in the mill which civilization provides, it is found on actual experience that he will produce so much for so little pay, that it is more profitable to hire him than to own him outright. It was for this reason that slavery died without a struggle in all of the old northern states. It is of the greatest interest to follow the abandonment of slavery in these states. Slavery had for-

14. "The planting of sugar and tobacco can afford the expense of slave cultivation. The raising of corn, it seems, in the present times, cannot. In the English colonies, in which the principal produce is corn, the far greater part of the work is done by freemen. * * * In our sugar colonies the whole work is done by slaves."—Adam Smith: *Wealth of Nations*. Book III., Chapter 2. Published in 1776. This is of special value as giving the convictions of the students of

merly existed throughout the North. Not only were black men held as chattels, but white men as well. In fact, white slavery was already in existence in the colonies when the Dutch traders disposed of their first cargo of blacks in Virginia. And the king of England is known to have been a party to the capturing by press gangs, of his own good English subjects, and winking at their sale into slavery in the colonies.

82. White Slavery in America.—The beginning of black slavery was made in 1620, but the first black slaves were set to work in America as the fellow-workers of white men already in slavery on the black man's arrival.¹⁵ The impossibility of carrying on profitable slave plantations, and the rise in manufactures in the northern states greatly increased the number of European immigrants into those states. As soon as the hired worker was found to be more profitable than the slave laborer, the black men were "sold South" or given their liberty. White slavery does not seem to have survived the Revolutionary War. In fact, a large share of the white men sold into American slavery, were men taken from the prisons of England;

these matters when slavery was still in force. The invention of the cotton gin afterwards added cotton to the list of employments where slaves could be supported by the products of slave labor and leave a considerable surplus to be used or wasted by their masters.

15. "In the early days of Virginia and Maryland the slave was usually not a negro, but an Englishman, condemned either penally or by contract to a limited period of bondage. As far as we can judge from the scanty and scattered records at our command, the condition and character of the indented servant underwent a marked change during the seventeenth century, and a change for the worse. At the outset this class was supplied from two sources. A few were felons, usually those with whom capital punishment had been commuted to colonial servitude. The cases, however, do not seem to have been numerous, and probably had but little effect on the general character of the population. The bulk of the indented servants in Virginia were laborers who bound themselves for a fixed term of service with a certainty of becoming small freeholders at the end of that period. Gradually the system changed. The great tobacco plantations of Virginia needed a larger servile population than could be provided by the chance supply of pardoned criminals. Nor were the ultimate prospects of an indented servant such as to attract free laborers in

and after the Revolution, England established her penal colonies elsewhere. In the meantime, it had become more profitable in this country to hire than to own the white man's labor.

83. Selling Negroes to Themselves.—It is a striking comment on the giving of liberty to the black men in the North, that the "manumission" papers which gave to any particular black man his liberty, usually specified that it was done in consideration of long and faithful service, and the further consideration of the payment to the former master by the freedman of a sum which in every three years amounted to more than the negro's market value. It was further provided in these papers, that in default of any of these payments, these papers should become void and the negro return to his former master and to his previous condition of servitude. So it is seen that the negro usually secured his liberty by making his liberty more profitable to his master than had been his servitude. Formerly the

any number. The market was indeed partly furnished by political prisoners. There were few ages of English history in which this resource would have insured so constant a supply as in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Penruddock's attempt against the Commonwealth in 1655, the Scotch rebellion in 1666, the rising of the West under Monmouth, the Jacobite insurrection in 1715, each furnished its share of prisoners to the colonies. But the demand was far in excess of such precarious aids, and, as might have been expected, it soon produced a regular and organized supply. It became a trade to furnish the plantations with servile labor drawn from the off-scourings of the mother country.

"When the Colonial Board came into being in 1661, not the least important of its duties was the control of the trade in indented servants. In that year a committee was appointed to consider the best means of furnishing labor to the plantations by authorizing contractors to transport criminals, beggars, and vagrants. More important than the encouragement of this trade was the control and direction of it. The evils of the system were two-fold. On the one hand, the young, the inexperienced and the friendless were at the mercy of the kidnapers' 'spirits,' as they were called, who forced or beguiled them on shipboard and transported them to the colonial market. Children and apprentices were stolen. All those, and in a lawless age such as this was, there were many, of whom profligacy, cupidity, or malevolence would fain rid themselves, were in danger of being consigned to a life which left small chances of discovery or escape. * * * Nor was this the only danger of the system.

master had provided food, clothing and shelter all the year round for his slave; and the master was obliged to provide and manage the industry which made possible the employment of his slave. But under this contract manumission arrangement, the master escaped all responsibility. The negro was obliged to look for some one who could use his labor to an advantage, and after keeping for himself the scantiest subsistence, turn the balance of his earnings over to his master for the privilege of being a free man, that is, for the privilege of looking for a new master. He was not given such liberty as enabled him to keep for himself the products of his own labor any more than while in outright slavery.

84. The Slave-Dealing North.—The share which the North had in establishing southern slavery ought also to be mentioned. Here is a sample of the circle completed by an ordinary New England business transaction in the earlier days. Lumber and fish were

The Bristol slave ships served not only as a prison for the innocent, but as a refuge for the guilty. Runaway apprentices, faithless husbands and wives, fugitive thieves and murderers, were enabled to escape beyond the reach of civil or criminal justice. The system however, was yet too necessary to be given up. The statesmen of Charles I's reign betook themselves with energy to the problems of Colonial government. The question of slavery was perhaps the most difficult that came before them, and they met it with judgment, and, it would seem, with fair success. * * * The evil still went on, as we learn from the records of the next reign. * * * We read, too, how the magistrates of Bristol drove a thriving trade by condemning criminals and transferring them as articles of merchandise from one to another. * * * The publicity thus given to the matter may have brought the Order of Council in March, 1686, directed alike against kidnapers and fraudulent servants. This provided, (1) that all contracts between emigrant servants and their masters should be formally executed before two magistrates, and that a register of such bargains should be kept; (2) that no adult should be transported but by his own free consent, and no child without the consent of either parent or master; (3) in the case of children under fourteen the consent of the parent as well as the master was necessary, unless the former was not forthcoming. That a system which imposed no check upon kidnapping of friendless orphans, or the sale of children by their own parents, should have been accepted as satisfactory, is a startling illustration of the temper of the age, and of that vast gulf which in some matters severs us from our forefathers. After this no trace is to be

sold in the West Indies in exchange for molasses; the molasses made into rum in New England; the rum exchanged with African tribes for slaves; the slaves sold to cotton-growers for cotton; the cotton made into clothes in the New England factories,—and a part of the product exchanged for more molasses; to make more rum; to get more slaves; to get more cotton; to make more clothes; to get more molasses, etc., etc. The balance of the products were used to invest in and to monopolize western land, to enlarge her own manufacturing interests, to support schools, colleges, and churches; and thus to help lay the foundations for New England's greatness. And at a later day, when the slave trade had been driven from the sea, some of the same funds were used to support abolition societies, notwithstanding the fact that the New England business man was usually on the side of the "broad-cloth mob" and against the abolitionists.

In fact, the southern states had clean hands as compared with northern and European traders, who enacted all the horrors of the "middle passage" and secured for these traders all the profits obtained for the

found of any legislative attempt to cope with the abuses. That, however, may be attributed not to the improvement of the system, but to the fact that it was gradually giving way before a rival form of industry. * * * For it is an economic law of slavery, that where it exists it must exist without a rival. It can only succeed where it is a predominant form of labor. * * * The new system (African slavery), indeed, did not win the day wholly without a struggle. A Virginia clergyman, writing in 1724, deploras the number of negroes and the consequent discouragement to the poorer class of white emigrants. In South Carolina more than one effort was made to stem the tide. In 1678 an act was passed offering a bounty on the importation of indented white servants, Irish only excepted. That they were designed to counteract the influx of black slaves is shown by the provision that they were to be distributed among the planters, one to every six negroes. In 1712 a more elaborate attempt was made in the same direction. An act was passed which declared in its preamble the importance of increasing the numbers of the population. A bounty of fourteen pounds per head was offered for the importation of British subjects between twelve and thirty years of age. It is not too much to say that the whole order of Southern society, its manner of life and forms of in-

work of introducing black slavery into the southern states.¹⁶

85. Slave Labor Unprofitable—Wage System Impossible Under Barbarism.—Adam Smith contends that at no time was the labor of slaves really profitable. He argues in effect, and with good reason, that the ancient slave labor would have been more productive if it could have been organized under the modern wage system. But this takes it for granted that modern industrial life could have been organized out of the materials from which the ancient slave was made. The man who in ancient times became a slave was a proud, high-spirited freeman, more defiant than a modern factory worker. He was in the possession of his own lands and in the habit of producing for himself. No one collected from him either rent or interest, nor compelled him to earn profits for others before he was permitted to create a living for himself. He had for

dusty, were fashioned by slavery. We have already seen how the early conditions of Virginia life tended to throw the land of the colony into the hands of a few large proprietors. That tendency was confirmed and intensified by slavery. For slave labor can only be employed profitably in large gangs, and such gangs can only be worked on wide territories and in the hands of great capitalists.”—Doyle: *English Colonies in America*, pp. 382**85, 387, 388, 391.

16. “The world was a great slave holder throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and during the greater part of the nineteenth. Nor were the negroes the only slaves in Virginia or in the other colonies.

“On account of the crowded condition of English jails, many convicts were transported to America and sold for a term of years as ‘indentured servants.’ White slaves and black worked side by side in the tobacco fields. Sometimes the whites, on becoming free, acquired property and social position in the colony. Many led a miserable existence, and their descendants were called ‘poor whites.’ White slavery ceased about 1700. Till that time negro slavery was held in check, because white slaves were often the cheaper. * * * A common notice in the newspaper was the announcement of the arrival of a packet and the public or private sale of a ‘serving-man’ or ‘serving-woman.’ In Philadelphia and Baltimore a lively business went on in this purchase and sale of redemptioners.

“Not infrequently these were better educated than those who bought them, and they were employed to teach school or keep books.

“For a time most of the schools in Maryland were conducted by convicts or redemptioners.”—Thorpe: *A History of the American People*, pp. 37, 145.

his own use the full product of his toil.¹⁷ It is more than likely that the only way by which he could be made to become a producer for another's use, was by the process by which he was deprived of his own equipment in lands and herds, and of his liberty as well. It has been said that there has never been a race of industrial workers produced without first going through a period of slavery on their way to the industrial habit. This does not dispute the position of Adam Smith. It only confirms the suggestion above that, in all probability, no barbarian could be found who would willingly exchange the leisure and liberty of his barbarian life for any rewards which the modern wage system could offer in their stead. If the industrial habit is to be one of the fixed characteristics of man in his final development, then the long centuries of suffering under slavery, and other forms of industrial subjection, may have at least rendered the service of the pain and travail of a new birth for the race.¹⁸

"The United Colonies conformed to the usage of their day by selling into foreign bondage their foes taken in arms. A few, convicted of killing people 'otherwise than in the way of war,' were executed. Some years later Charles II. marketed as bondmen his Scotch subjects taken at Bothwell Bridge. Still later, James II. sold into West Indian slavery at least eight hundred and forty of his fellow Englishmen captured in Monmouth's rebellion, and the most refined ladies of his court strove for grants of these salable prisoners, not for purposes of mercy, but to replenish their dainty purses."—Goodwin: *The Pilgrim Republic*, p. 562.

17. "The experience of all ages and nations, I believe, demonstrates that the work done by slaves, though it appears to cost only their maintenance, is, in the end, the dearest of any."—Adam Smith: *Wealth of Nations*, Book III., Chapter 2. Read also Book I., Chapter 8, same work.

18. "The number of conquering races has always been relatively small and the number of conquered races has of course been correspondingly large. This came at length to mean that the 'ruling classes' constituted only a small fraction of the population of the world, while the subject classes made up the great bulk of the population. At the time that men began to compile rude statistics of population, which was sparingly done before the beginning of our era, it was found that the slaves far outnumbered the 'citizens' of all countries. In Athens there was such a census taken in the year 309 B. C., when there was

86. Emancipation Forbidden.—Whatever may have been true as to the comparative value of slave labor and wage labor at the beginning of the period during which the world's work was done by chattel slaves, at a later date slave labor was put to the test with the wage labor of freedmen and the displaced farmers of the earlier days of the Roman Republic. Two hundred years before the beginning of the Christian era, the desperate industry and small wages for which these people were willing to work, and the greater effectiveness of their labor, made it more profitable to hire them than to own slaves. So many of the Roman masters took advantage of this fact, that the institution of slavery was in danger of abandonment and the authority of the law interfered to so tax the freeing of the slaves as to give the advantage to slave labor. There was more profit in wage labor, but so many of the old masters did not know how to satisfy their arrogance and aristocratic pride without chattel slavery, that the law was invoked by the many masters against the few to protect their arrogance, even at the expense of their profits.¹⁹

found to be 21,000 citizens, 10,000 foreigners, and 400,000 slaves! It is not, therefore, a small number of men that have been thus kept in training all these ages, but practically all mankind. It may sound paradoxical to call slavery a civilizing agency, but if industry is civilizing, there is no escape from this conclusion, for it is probably no exaggeration to say that but for this severe school of experience continued through thousands of generations, there could have been nothing corresponding to modern industry. And right here is a corollary which Mr. Spencer and other critics of militancy have failed to draw. For slavery, as they admit, is the natural and necessary outcome of war. It is the initial step in the 'regime of status.' It was therefore in militarism that the foundations of industrialism were laid in social adaptation. There seems to be no other way by which mankind could have been prepared for an industrial era. Or if this is more than we are warranted in saying, it is at least true that this is the particular way in which men were fitted for the role that they have been playing in the past two centuries."—Ward: *Pure Sociology*, p. 272.

19. "The pride of man makes him love to domineer, and nothing mortifies him so much as to be obliged to condescend to persuade his inferiors. Wherever the law allows it, and the nature of work can af-

87. Summary.—1. Chattel slavery did not exist among primitive peoples.

2. Chattel slavery came into existence as the result of the inter-tribal wars. Private property in land and in slaves came into existence by the same process and from the same cause.

3. All ancient civilizations had their economic foundations in slavery. The ancient world was divided into two classes,—soldiers and slaves.

4. Black slavery in America was a reversion to an out-grown institution, and was finally abandoned because not profitable in the northern states, and the southern states acquiesced in its final overthrow for the same reason.

5. Slavery was never profitable in competition with wage labor and existed primarily because force was necessary to induce the labor which could not be hired on any terms.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. In what way is capitalism related to the primitive life of the race?

2. What leading characteristics of capitalism came into existence with slavery?

3. What was the cause of the inter-tribal barbarian wars?

4. What was the relation of war to the beginning of slavery?

5. How do we know that slavery did not exist in primitive society?

6. What were the beginnings of the cities and how were their populations made up, and why?

7. What one thing was true of the labor of all ancient civilizations?

8. Was slavery ever really profitable? Why could not the wage system have succeeded barbarism instead of slavery?

9. When ancient slavery was found to be unprofitable, why was it not abandoned? Quote Adam Smith.

10. Why did American slavery die in the North without a struggle? Why is there no demand for a return to slavery in the South?

ford it, therefore, he will generally prefer the service of slaves to that of free men.”—Adam Smith: *Wealth of Nations*, Book III., Chapter 2; also see Simonds: *Story of Labor*, p. 139.

CHAPTER VII

SERFDOM

89. Workmen Born—Not Captured.—When the Roman authority had extended Roman conquest to the utmost limits, and the task of protecting the frontier had made impossible the further extension of the frontier, and the limit of expansion by conquest had at last been reached, then alliances with new tribes could no longer recruit the Roman army, nor conquest of new countries provide more slaves. The old order of things which had driven the slave at his task and to his death, and then replaced him with a fresh captive from the eternal war on the frontier—had to yield to a milder program. Slaves must be propagated if they could not be captured. If they were to be born and reared on the estates which they were to serve, then the conditions of the slaves must be improved and a fixed tenure of their interest in the hut and garden must be provided as the necessary condition of their providing and caring for the offspring who were to become the productive workers of the great estates.¹

1. "Completion of the Roman system of conquest reduced the supply of slaves. * * * and the Romans were obliged to have recourse to the milder but more tedious methods of propagation."—Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chapter 2.

"From the very moment when barbarism advanced to the encounter with the ancient world, one sees the metamorphosis commenced;

90. The Serf's Home.—The most marked advantage, therefore, of the serf over the slave, was that now the worker could have a family; could be interested in his children; could know and love his offspring; would become enthusiastic in the industry which would provide for their welfare. It should be noticed that the masters granted to the old slaves this new privilege for the sake of so securing new workers, and as the only way by which the necessary workers could be provided. To the worker the new home was a boon longed for through the centuries. To the master the hovel of the serf was only a breeding pen for toilers, and he spoke contemptuously of the serf and of the serf's family as "his litter."²

91. The Slave Market.—The slave trade did not cease with the end of conquest. The occasional captive and the child specially reared for the market kept up the trade centuries after entering upon the process which finally transformed nearly all Europe from the old slavery into the conditions of the new serfdom. In England the English parents depended for no small share of their income on the sale of children born unto themselves and reared especially for the slave market. Bristol was the great slave market of England, and this practice did not cease at that city until William the Conqueror prohibited it in the eleventh century.³

slavery grows weak, because people no longer come from the country of slaves. They are more costly; people treat them as a rare thing, or perhaps employ them as a defense. In proportion as the power was lost of renewing them by conquest, and their numbers could only be increased by their own fecundity, they became members of the Roman family; they lived in a condition nearly like that of our domestics, and their masters insensibly lost the habits of despotism which attach to the idea of property. Thus was brought about the transition from slavery to serfdom, two regimes very different, since the former enfeoffed man to man, and the second simply bound him to the soil."—Blanqui: *History of Political Economy*, pp. 88-89.

2. Green: *History of the English people*, p. 260.

3. "An edict yet more honorable to him [William the Conqueror] put an end to the slave trade, which until then had been carried on at the

All Southern Europe was well on in this transition from the slave, captured and driven to his death, without mercy, to the slave born and so treated that he would stay on his master's land and reproduce a successor to undertake with him and after him the same slave's task, when the Roman authority collapsed and workers had to be reared rather than captured as the sole source of supply.

92. Germanic Tribes in Southern Europe.—When the Germanic tribes took possession of the Roman territory, they came down from the north with their barbarian tribal relations still in force. They came into a country where the method of making a livelihood involved the cultivation of the soil on a larger scale than had been practiced among them. They were acting under the military exigencies of the general disorder which followed the downfall of the Roman authority. None of them had ever lived in cities. "They looked upon the walls of a town as a prison."⁴ The general disorder made the support of the great cities insecure and uncertain, while they fell into such neglect that from sanitary reasons they became practically uninhabitable. The old Roman masters who were engaged in agriculture had gathered into walled towns for common defense and for the social advantages in that way obtained. The new Germanic military chieftains utterly destroyed many of these towns and

port of Bristol."—Green: *History of the English People*, Chapter 2, Section 6.

"It was not an uncommon practice for the poor in the Middle Ages to sell themselves into slavery, or to become slaves by debt."—Brace: *Gesta Christi*, or a *History of Human Progress*, p. 229.

"* * * There was a very large export trade in slaves, and their prices are recorded in the laws of the period. Bristol was a great center of this sad traffic, and remained so till the twelfth century, and English and Danish slaves formed an important merchandise in the markets of Germany. The devout Gytha, Earl Godwin's wife, is said to have shipped whole gangs, especially of young and pretty women, for sale in Denmark."—Gibbins: *Industry in England*, pp. 44-45.

4. Freeman: *General Sketch of History*, p. 173.

all were treated with neglect and contempt.⁵ As these new chieftains came to cultivate the soil and to provide defense, they built castles on their own estates which they and their fighting men occupied in idleness and revelry while the work was done by the same old body of slaves, now sometimes reinforced by their former masters who had escaped the sword of the Germans only to join the ranks of the enslaved. It was by the effort to adapt the social organization of those still in barbarism to the industrial conditions of those well advanced in civilization, that feudalism came into existence. Feudalism was an effort to preserve the independence of the tribes of warriors whose democracy had been destroyed by war; whose means of support now required a fixed habitation, and whose resources now included the slaves as well as the lands of the conquered Romans. It existed side by side with slavery, but finally succeeded slavery as the predominant industrial method for a thousand years. There were many kinds and degrees of serfs. There were many kinds and degrees among those who were the masters under serfdom. The original landholders of the northern countries of Europe were finally displaced and the castles and hovels of feudalism covered the British Isles and all of Western Europe to the north as far as the Scandinavian countries. In the northern countries and in England, serfdom was the direct creation of a compromise—not between the last stages of the old slavery and these new military conditions, but, instead, a compromise between survivals of direct barbarian customs and these new military conditions.

93. In Teutonic and Celtic Countries.—In all Teutonic and Celtic countries, the old barbarian tribal or village interest in all the land, on the part of all the

5. Adam Smith: *Wealth of Nations*, Book III., Chapter 3.

people, still survived. The development of the new military powers simply destroyed the earlier chief men. The new conquerors consented to the earlier civil usages. They simply made new chief men from among their own favorites and in a way perpetuated the ancient rights to the soil,—only conditioning the further enjoyment of these rights on the doing of military service. This was particularly the case in England. When William the Conqueror had made himself the master of England, he provided the military establishment necessary for his own support, not only by appropriating large estates to his own use, but by making the titles to practically all the land in England depend on military service.⁶ This is the reason why all England was so quickly covered with castles after the conquest. It was a part of the conquest. It was the process by which the conquest was made secure.

94. Thorold Rogers on the Fifteenth Century.—

It was from these antecedents that the conditions arose which finally made so large a share of agricultural Englishmen either self-employers, outright and entirely, or a mixture of the serf and the wage worker—so that great companies of men worked both for wages and for themselves. They had their patch of four acres with the cottage. They had their strips in the cultivated fields and in the meadows. They had their rights to fuel and to pasturage from the common holdings of the village, and so achieved a condition of which Thorold Rogers speaks as “the golden age of labor.” Of these people he says: “I have stated more than once that the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth were the golden age of the English laborer, if we are to interpret the wages which he

6. Blackstone: Commentaries on the Laws of England, Vol. I., Book II., Chapter 4.

earned by the cost of the necessities of life. At no time were wages, relatively speaking, so high; and at no time was food so cheap * * * nor, as I have already observed, were the hours long. It is plain that the day was one of eight hours."⁷

95. Denial of Political Power.—The trouble with all this was that after the conquest the authority of the state was never in the hands of these workers; that whatever they had, they held only because it seemed most advantageous to their masters that it should be so. Thorold Rogers states that the conditions constantly grew worse for three centuries, and, as we shall see later, completed the chapter of abuses by the military masters appropriating public lands when they no longer needed the services of the workers and so coming finally to the complete triumph of the wage system over serfdom.

96. Serfdom in America.—All of the charters which were given to the early companies for the settlement of America, were of the same nature as the old feudal land grants at home in the several countries which made them. On the Hudson, more than else-

7. Rogers: *Work and Wages*, pp. 326-27.

"About the year 1000 benefices took the name of fiefs (feod), and the feudal organization was then complete. The servile or half-servile crowd, slaves of the Romans and Germans, the coloni of the first, the lidi of the second, either became servants of the lords or received lands from them on very humiliating conditions and were henceforth feudal serfs."—Maine: *Ancient Law*, p. 231.

"Another element [of feudalism] was represented by the beneficeium, which was partly of Roman, partly of German, origin. A practice had arisen in the empire of granting out frontier lands to soldiers upon condition of their rendering military service in border warfare* * *. This Roman custom naturally suggested to the Teutonic kings the plan of rewarding their followers out of their own estates with grants of land—benefices or fiefs,—with a special undertaking to be faithful in consideration of the gift."—Taylor: *Origin and Growth of the English Constitution*, Vol. I., p. 223.

"I believe, indeed, that under ordinary circumstances the means of life were more abundant during the Middle Ages than they are under our modern experience. There was, I am convinced, no extreme poverty."—Rogers: *Economic Interpretation of History*, p. 16.

Kropotkin: *Mutual Aid*, Chapters V. and VI.

where, the real feudal life was actually in force. There was complete dependence of the serf on his lord, including military service and the oath of allegiance to the landlord by his tenant. This feudalism was in form overthrown by the Revolution. There were and are yet some survivals of this old feudalism still lingering in the Empire State. Her early control by the few great families along the Hudson; the appointment of county officers by the state authorities—which was not abandoned until 1830—and the large tracts of land still held in entailed and rent gathering estates, are instances in point.

Both slavery and serfdom in this country are interesting subjects for study, but neither were in the line of the regular development of modern industry. Serfdom was an importation from Europe, and slavery was a recurrence to a method of production already outgrown in the regular line of advance.

97. Slavery and Serfdom.—We will return to the study of slavery and serfdom in the places of their natural and historical development. The differences between slavery and serfdom are not easily stated, but the one which is of economic importance—and therefore of importance to us—is that, historically, men first owned slaves, and the land in order to employ the slaves. Finally the discovery was made that if they owned the land, they did not need to own the slaves; and to extend to the slaves some portion of their rights, would add to their value as workers and would promote the propagation of more workers. The masters had established themselves on estates and gathered their soldiers about them. The soldiers were free men, only it was desertion to withdraw from the military service of their lords. The workers were given the same kind of freedom—that is, they were permitted to say that they were no longer slaves, but they

were forbidden to go from one place to another. They had belonged to the masters under slavery. They belonged to the land and the land belonged to masters under serfdom.⁸

98. Vice, Cruelty and Greed.—It was discovered that there was no vice which slavery could gratify, which could not as well be served under serfdom. It was discovered that the earnings under serfdom were larger for the master than under slavery. It was discovered that the pride and arrogance of masters, which was the sole incentive for the perpetuation of unprofitable slavery, could be better served by telling the victim that he was no longer a slave. Then, by owning the sole means by which a worker could maintain his existence, they could continue to rob and corrupt the serf after the same old manner, and with larger returns for the master than slavery could afford. Serfdom was but another form of slavery introduced by the masters and solely for the masters' advantage.

99. The Masters Make the Change to Serfdom.—The change from slavery to serfdom was not a victory

8. "The political constitution of serfdom was profoundly different, as were also its economic antecedents. Physical control over the personality of the laborer was no longer compatible with the lower fertility of the soil. A more fecund social system was required, and therewith a milder method of suppressing the free land, in order to afford greater stability of conditions and to ameliorate the condition of the laborers. Subjection, it is true, increased in extent as a large number of freemen were now reduced to serfdom, or to a state bordering thereon; but it diminished, nevertheless, in intensity."—Loria: *Economic Foundations of Society*, p. 138.

"The form of society immediately preceding the one with which we are familiar, that is to say, feudalism, recognized land as the basis of the social structure. Land was originally the only productive property known; and the significant fact for one who desires to appreciate the development of the property tax is that social duties, as well as social privileges, were in large part determined by the amount of land assigned, whether to the noble or to the serf. This was true of the internal organization of the manors, where labor on the demesne was the 'contribution' of the villain to the support of the state; it was also true of the national organization when the lords acknowledged their holdings by rendering military service. It thus appears that feudalism regarded the holding of land as the measure of social service."—Adams: *Finance*, pp. 362-63.

won by or for the slaves. It was a change effected by, and in the interest of the masters, and this is evident for the following reasons:

100. Transition Most Obscure.—1. It was made with so little stir that the historian cannot tell you when nor how it happened. Every demand which is known to have been made by the slaves or serfs during all the years when slavery was shifting into serfdom and serfdom was shifting from one condition of dependence to another, was promptly met by repression the most cruel. It could not have been secured by the slaves as a victory in their interest. Adam Smith says of one of these changes in the form of serfdom: "The time and manner in which so important a revolution was brought about is one of the most obscure points in modern history." The whole personality of the slaves or serfs, for this period, was a blank. For a thousand years the only mention the old historians made of them was as playing minor parts in the vices and crimes of their lordly masters. If they had had the power to enforce so marked a change, they would have made trouble enough to have made the transition an event in history. If they could have caused this change, they could have made themselves felt in other ways so as not to have utterly disappeared from the world's notice while they were doing it.

101. Slaves Could Not—Masters Did.—2. When slavery was established in the first place, those who were to be made slaves were fighting men—the equals of those who were struggling to become their masters. When serfdom was to succeed slavery, those who were to be made serfs were already slaves. They were accustomed to all manner of cruelty and were helpless in the hands of their military masters. Whatever changes were made at all, were made by the only ones able to make them and in their own behalf. There

never was a slave or serf, unless back of him stood a soldier. Whatever changes have taken place in the forms of industrial servitude, have taken place under the eye of the soldier and in behalf of the master classes. The slave or serf has had as his only choice to serve or die. He should have died,—sometimes he did.

102.—Summary.—1. When the extension of the Roman frontier was no longer possible, the conquest of new territory came to an end. Hence the capture of men in order to make them slaves also practically ended. Then workers had to be propagated instead of being captured, and the improvement in the lot of the slave which such propagation required was the principal cause of the change from slavery to serfdom.

2. The conquest of smaller tribes by those which were larger and better organized for military purposes frequently resulted in the victorious military masters confirming the barbarian usages of the captured tribes, as to land and labor, with the one condition that the conquered people should render to their new masters such military service as they might demand. In most Teutonic and Celtic countries this was the beginning of serfdom.

3. In the countries which had become civilized under the old Roman rule, serfdom was a modification of slavery.

4. In the countries which had continued to be at war with Rome, serfdom was the result of the development of military power among themselves and was the form of dependent labor which was developed directly from inter-tribal barbarian war in these countries.

5. The great advantages which the workers enjoyed at certain times in some countries, as in England, under serfdom, were survivals from barbarism, which survivals were then in the process of being destroyed.

6. Wherever serfdom came into existence as a modification of slavery it was by the choice of the masters and in their interest.

7. Wherever serfdom came into existence as the result of conquest it was established by force of arms, and in behalf of the new military masters.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. How were workers obtained under the old Roman rule?
2. How were they obtained when war could no longer supply the captives?
3. In what different light did the masters and the workers regard the homes of the serfs?
4. By what means did the new masters, who came into the control of all Europe^a after the fall of Rome, provide for the support of their military establishments?
5. How did Thorold Rogers regard the lot of English workingmen in the fifteenth century?
6. Whence came these great advantages of English workers?
7. How did they lose them? What power was never granted them by their new military masters and for lack of which they lost these good conditions?
8. What was the difference between slavery and serfdom?
9. By whom and in whose interest was the transition made from slavery to serfdom?

CHAPTER VIII

THE WAGE SYSTEM

103. Slavery, Serfdom and the Wage System.—In preceding chapters, we have noticed how war was followed by the enslavement of the captive, and the making of private property of the lands before held by those who were thus enslaved. It was seen that when it was discovered that both the vices and the greed of the master classes could be better served by serfdom than by slavery, the change to serfdom was effected by and in behalf of the master classes. The discovery was made that if the master owned the land and could forbid the serf from moving off from the land of his lord, he did not need to own the slave, and so he called a slave a serf, and himself a lord. In the same way it was afterward discovered that there was no vice which slavery or serfdom fostered which could not be as well gratified, while greed could be better served, under the wage system. If the lords and masters owned all the land and tools, the serf could be permitted to go, when not needed by the master, and come again, as he might choose, so long as he remained without where to employ his hands as well as without “where to lay his head,” except some lord or master should make terms with him.

104. Industrial Discipline.—The wage system is characterized by one thing which was impossible under either slavery or serfdom, namely, the right to seek a new master; but curiously enough, this privilege of quitting the employ of one's lord or master, which the master classes refused under both slavery and serfdom, has become, under the wage system, not only the right to go, on the part of the worker, but the power to discharge, on the part of the master; and this has become the most powerful means of industrial discipline ever held in the hands of masters.¹

105. The Struggle for Land Again.—It has been seen how, in the early time, the tribes trespassed on each other's territory, and how, finally, all tribes were obliged to become warring tribes, or become the slaves of their warring neighbors. This same thing happened in feudalism. No sooner had the warring chieftains secured themselves in their castles and possessions, than, if for no other reason, the natural growth of their establishments demanded more room. They had established themselves by fighting, and, as a matter of fact, fighting never ceased. If any particular lord had wished "to avoid strife and to live peaceably with all men," he would not have been able to do so. He and his house would have gone at once to their own

1. "Freemen indeed! You are slaves, not to masters of any strength or honor, but to the idlest talkers at that floral end of Westminster bridge [in Parliament]. Nay, to countless meaner masters than they. For though, indeed, as early as the year 1102, it was decreed in a council at St. Peter's, Westminster, 'that no man for the future should presume to carry on the wicked trade of selling men in the markets like brute beasts, which hitherto had been the common custom of England,' the no less wicked trade of under-selling men in markets has lasted to this day; producing conditions of slavery differing from the ancient ones only in being starved instead of full-fed; and besides this, a state of slavery unheard of among the nations till now, has arisen with us. In all former slaveries—Egyptian, Algerian, Saxon, and American—the slave complaint has been of compulsory work. But the modern Politico-Economic slave is a new and far more injured species, condemned to compulsory idleness, for fear he should spoil other people's trade."—Rich: *The Communism of John Ruskin*, pp. 188-89.

burials or into some other lord's service and so into serfdom.

106. Expansion Inevitable.—As long as the practice of taking by force of arms, or by the power of the competitive market remains, the tribes, the armies and the markets must continually expand or destruction awaits the enterprise. Just as the expansion of the ancient tribes created the ancient nation, so the expansion by the feudal lords of their holdings created the modern nations. Whenever a powerful chieftain, sallying forth from his own castle, had destroyed the castles and absorbed the holdings of his neighbors, covering territory so large that castles and warriors were required at many points in order to insure protection, it would create from among his followers other lords, who would hold these new estates, but remain subject to their former master, and hold themselves and their fighting men forever in readiness to fight, not for themselves as independent lords but for their former master, now the lord of an ever widening realm. In the face of such a warrior, smaller lords would hasten to declare allegiance to him, and to become his military subjects; not because they loved him, but because they dared not fight the combination.

107. Widening Peaceful Territory.—These subject lords were not permitted by their common master to fight each other, and hence, as war extended the territory of such a chieftain, it ended war within his territory as long as he could maintain control. To keep control within his territory, as well as to extend his territory, made necessary the repair of the old roads and the construction of new ones. And so better roads and more of them connected the castles with each other, with the centers of power, and with the frontiers.²

108. Jealousies.—It will be readily seen that territories brought together in such a way would be con-

2. Macaulay: History of England, Vol. 1., Chapter 3.

stantly subject to the combinations of the stronger lords to control the action of their master, while any misfortune which would befall the king would be taken advantage of by those having no regard for him, other than an allegiance based on fear. Jealousies, hatreds, rebellions and assassinations were ever rife and frequently scattered in an hour what had been patiently gathered in a lifetime or a century.

109. Divine Right of Kings.—Besides their armies, the princes devised other means of extending and retaining power. They invented the doctrine of “divine right of kings,” and against the rival and the rebel they reinforced all that their armies could do in this life, with all that everlasting torment could threaten for the next. In this way, when a local lord wished to rebel, he would be unable to hold his fighting men together, as against the king of the realm, who, it was believed, had power not only to kill the body in battle, but to torture the soul in hell.

110. The Towns.—Another important item in this program of the kings was to recognize and encourage the towns. The local lords had uniformly treated the towns with contempt. The towns were quarreling with their local lords and the kings were trying to lessen the power of these lords in order to extend their own.³

The kings not only played the part of the “big medicine man,” so far as the soldiers of all the lords were concerned, but they were ready to form alliances with the despised tradesmen of the towns as well as with the horrors of the under world in order the better to control their subject lords.

3. “The princes who lived upon the worst terms with their barons seem accordingly to have been the most liberal in grants of this kind to their burghs. King John of England, for example, appears to have been a most munificent benefactor to the towns.”—Adam Smith: *Wealth of Nations*, Book III., Chapter 3. The whole chapter is given to the subject and is full of interest.

111. Better Roads, More Trade.—The extension of territory and the creation of roads, together with the extension of conditions of peace, established commerce on a much larger scale than had been possible before, while the extension of territory involved the gathering of large armies and corresponding demands for larger supplies at points distant from the castles, and hence, difficult to provide.

112. Robber Barons.—In the earlier periods of feudalism the towns had been neglected. They had been occupied by tradesmen, who had been despised, who had carried about their goods for sale much after the manner of a modern peddler.⁴ These peddlers, however, were the predecessors of the great commercial princes of our own times. Then they were subject to all manner of taxes and tariffs, collected by the lords for the privilege of selling goods on the several petty territories which the lords controlled.⁵ They were not only taxed at the castles, but they were robbed on the roads. Among the titles which those old lords bestowed upon themselves, as indicating the things which they regarded as honorable, and of which their descendants are still boasting, was the name of "robber barons."⁶

113. Free Cities.—It was an easy thing for the kings to secure alliances with these industrial towns. They

4. Adam Smith: *Wealth of Nations*, Book III., Chapter 3.

5. "In the preceding sections an attempt has been made to show how the rising power of capitalism broke down the mediæval forms of commercial and industrial regulation: the capitalists, who could not dominate them, migrated to places where they were free from old-fashioned restrictions."—Cunningham: *The Cambridge Modern History*, p. 514 (Chapter on "Economic Change").

6. "Money is now exactly what mountain promontories over public roads were in old times. The barons fought for them fairly:—the strongest and cunningest got them; then fortified them, and made every one who passed below pay toll. Well, capital now is exactly what crags were then. Men fight fairly (we will, at least, grant so much, though it is more than we ought), for their money, but having once gotten it, the fortified millionaire can make everybody who passes below pay toll

were chartered in great numbers. They were made independent of their local lords. They were permitted to become self-governing democracies. They were made up of bodies of tradesmen, and these trade organizations were directly recognized, chartered and made the ruling bodies of the new cities. They were permitted to gather from their own citizens and by their own officers, the revenues which would fall to the kings, and so were freed from the presence and the consequent wrongs of the royal tax gatherers, and were therefore called free cities.⁷

114. The Modern City.—As the centuries passed and the roads were improved, the armies enlarged and the travel and transportation made secure from the robber lords, the trade of the cities was vastly increased. The kings came to depend on them for the supplies of their armies, and just as the military camp and the slave camp had together made the ancient cities possible, so the armies that opened and made safe the roads and the workers devoted to their support,—both these groups gave the final impetus which built the modern city.

115. The Growing Market.—The support which had been provided at the castles for the small groups of fighting men which had been attached to the castles, not only grew in importance with the growth of the armies, but the production of this support was transferred to the towns. The towns became the producers, not only for the armies, but for a general market, which has continuously increased from this beginning until it has grown to be the world market of our own times.

to his million and build another tower to his money castle. And I can tell you, the poor vagrants by the roadside suffer now quite as much from the bag-baron as ever they did from the crag-baron. 'Bags and crags have much the same result on rags'.—John Ruskin: "A Crown of Wild Olives," p. 29. See also Macaulay: History of England, Vol. I., Chapter 3.

7. Adam Smith: Wealth of Nations, p. 305.

116. Gunpowder.—This movement was greatly intensified and quickened by the invention of gunpowder.⁸ The appearance of gunpowder as a factor in war marked the disappearance of the castle as the seat of power and of the mounted knight as the most effective soldier. Cannon tore away the castle walls and no knight could safely fix his lance to run a tournament with a flying bullet.⁹

117. Worthless Castles—The Kings' Soldiers.—The result was that the kings organized armies equipped with muskets, and answerable directly to the kings themselves, without the intervention of lords or castles. The military establishments of the feudal lords became useless as fortresses and were at last abandoned for that purpose to become the "country seats" of those who before had been independent fighting men, but under the new order became courtiers at the king's court. Large numbers of men, who had before been the fighting men of the castles, and a larger number, who had been the working men about the castles, to provide the support of the fighting men, became alike useless to their lords. The lords were unable to provide any employment by means of which they could make the further service of these serfs worth having.

118. Discharged Soldiers and Evicted Serfs.—Both the soldiers and the workers were permitted to desert the lords in great numbers, but in going they were unable to take the means of making a living with them. The cities, which had destroyed the industrial and military importance of the castles, now absorbed this needless surplus population from the feudal estates.

8. Buckle: *History of Civilization*, Vol. I., pp. 259-272.

9. "The first discovery mentioned, that of gunpowder * * * has produced a political revolution parallel to the intellectual revolution mentioned. The roar of the cannon and the sharp crack of the musket gave a fatal shock to the old political methods, for they revolutionized the art of war."—Morris: *Civilization—an Historical Review*, Vol. II., pp. 11-12.

They came to the cities utterly helpless, without tools, and without the means to live at all, except on the terms their new masters should offer them.¹⁰

119. The Wage System.—This was the beginning of the wage system as the dominant method of production. Wages had been paid before.¹¹ Wages had been paid to those not slaves, when slavery was the dominant method of production. Wages had been paid to those not serfs when serfdom was the dominant method of production. In the olden time, wages and slavery had existed side by side, and slavery had held its ground as the usual method of production by the interference of the law to extend slavery when the wage worker was found to be more profitable to the master. In the same way, for a thousand years, serfdom and the wage system existed together, but serfdom was the ruling method of production, because production at the castles was of the nature of a personal service, and serfdom involved the personal subjection of the worker to his one master.

10. "In the decrease of personal service, as villinage died away, it became the interest of the lord to diminish the number of tenants on his estate as it had been his interest before to maintain it, and he did this by massing the small allotments together into larger holdings. By this course of eviction the number of the free labor class was enormously increased, while the area of employment was diminished; and the social danger from vagabondage and the 'sturdy beggar' grew every day greater."—Green: *History of the English People*, p. 272; see also Thorold Rogers: *Work and Wages*, Chapter 4. (By sturdy beggars the historian here means a class which at the very beginning of the wage system in England closely resembled the modern tramp, both in his general condition and in the causes which put him into that condition.)

11. "The citizen farmer of Beocia in the seventh century before Christ, appears to have required one ox and one slave as the minimum stock on his land; on better stocked farms hired labor was employed, both male and female. * * * It has been pointed out above that money economy had been so far introduced in Athens as to affect the relations between employers and employeed. A great part of the laboring population of Athens consisted of wage-earners who had attained economic freedom. Some were citizens, who had political privileges, and others were aliens. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that because there was so much scope for the employment of free labor, slavery was either limited or exceptional. There was a sufficient number of free laborers to affect the political life of the city strongly, but there was

120. The Class War.—But new conditions had arisen. The subjection of individuals of the working class to certain individuals of the ruling class was succeeded by the subjection of the whole class of workers to the whole class of employers. For the first time in all the life of the race, great companies of workers were set to bidding against each other for a chance to live. The wage worker, who was a free man under serfdom and under slavery, always had the alternative of giving himself into serfdom or slavery, as a last chance as against the labor market. But now the bidding against each other no longer had the limit of the rewards of the serf or the fare of the slave, below which the wage workers would not be likely to go for any long period. The only limit now was death by starvation and exposure. Under slavery or serfdom, the economic law of the free workers' wages would be that they would tend to the point which would equal the provision made for the support of the serf or the slave. But when the wage system came in as the dominant method of production, this bottom limit was taken away, and the economists discovered, and began to defend, the "iron law of wages," namely, that "wages tend to the lowest point at which the laborers will submit in numbers large enough to do the required work." If they had added that the free wage earners were uniformly given the opportunity to sub-

in addition a large number of laborers who were not in any sense economically free, and still less politically.

"The slaves were for the most part found in the rural districts, though a certain amount of free labor found employment on the lands; still the estates of the Athenian gentry were for the most part cultivated by slave labor. * * * Taken altogether the number of slaves was very large; it was maintained by importation, chiefly from the shores of the Black Sea, though piracy contributed its quota. Prisoners taken in war, and citizens who had fallen into poverty or crime, might all be reduced to this unenviable condition. There was no Greek who was free from the shadow of possible slavery as a fate he might incur without fault of his own."—Cunningham: *Western Civilization—Ancient Times*, pp. 81, 108-110.

mit to what was offered or starve, at the time wage labor became the dominant method of industrial production, then they would have stated the whole case.¹²

121. Peddlers, Merchants and Helpless Workers.—New conditions had arisen. The mediaeval peddlers had become the manufacturers and merchants. For two hundred years, all the strife of European history was between these new masters of the towns and the old masters of the castles.¹³ But in all this strife the toilers

12. "The economic structure of capitalistic society has grown out of the economic structure of feudal society. The dissolution of the latter set free the elements of the former.

"The immediate producer, the laborer, could only dispose of his own person after he has ceased to be attached to the soil and ceased to be a slave-serf, or bondman of another. To become a free seller of labor-power, who carries his commodity wherever he finds a market, he must further have escaped from the regime of the guilds, their rules for apprentices and journeymen, and the impediments of their labor regulations. Hence the historical movement which changes the producers into wage-workers, appears, on the one hand, as their emancipation from serfdom and from the fetters of the guilds, and this side alone, exists for our bourgeois historians. But, on the other hand, these new freedmen became sellers of themselves only after they had been robbed of all their own means of production, and of all the guarantees of existence afforded by the old feudal arrangements. And the history of this, their expropriation, is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire.

"The industrial capitalists, these new potentates, had on their part not only to displace the guild masters of handicrafts, but also the feudal lords, the possessors of the sources of wealth. In this respect their conquest of social power appears as the fruit of a victorious struggle both against feudal lordship and its revolting prerogatives, and against the guilds and the fetters they laid on the free development of production and the free exploitation of man by man. The chevaliers d'industrie, however, only succeeded in supplanting the chevaliers of the sword by making use of events of which they themselves were wholly innocent. They have risen by means as vile as those by which the Roman freedman once on a time made himself the master of his patronus.

"The starting-point of the development that gave rise to the wage-laborer as well as to the capitalist, was the servitude of the laborer. The advance consisted in a change of form of this servitude, in the transformation of feudal exploitation into capitalist exploitation. To understand its march, we need not go back very far. Although we come across the first beginning of capitalist production as early as the fourteenth or fifteenth century, sporadically, in certain towns of the Mediterranean, the capitalistic era dates from the sixteenth century. Wherever it appears, the abolition of serfdom has been long effected, and the highest development of the middle ages, the existence of sovereign towns, has been long on the wane."—Marx: Capital, pp. 738-39.

13. "When Europe emerged from the Middle Ages, the rising middle-class of the towns constituted its revolutionary element. It had

in the fields which lay about the castles and the toilers of the factory towns, had no share or benefit.¹⁴ The free wage earners were forbidden by law to refuse to work for whatever they were offered. The free wage earners were forbidden by law to organize, or in any way to seek together for an advance of wages. The free wage earners were forbidden by law to go from one town to another in quest of work, unless able to give bonds not to become a public charge. The free wage earners were forbidden by law to work at their own trades unless employed by those who held monopolies, granted by the kings. The free wage earners were flogged, imprisoned, transported, or hanged for the slightest offenses against the prejudice or the interests of their employers.¹⁵

122. New Countries.—New conditions had arisen. America had been discovered, and a route to India, by way of Cape Good Hope, had been found out, and the world's commerce was making its beginning. Sailors were wanted. And free working men were kidnaped on the streets, dragged on board the vessels and hanged for mutiny, according to law, if they refused the tasks and the rations offered them.

123. Printing—The Industrial Revolt Against the Church.—New conditions had arisen. Printing had

conquered a recognized position within mediæval feudal organization, but this position, also, had become too narrow for its expansive power. The development of the middle-class, the bourgeoisie, became incompatible with the maintenance of the feudal system; the feudal system, therefore, had to fall."—Engels: *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, Introduction, p. 19.

14. "The eager spirits who crowded into the House of Commons, the mounted yeomen who rode with Hampden, the men who fought and won at Marston Moor and Nasby, thought no more of the peasant and the workman, had no more care for the bettering him, than the Irish Patriots of 1782 cared for the kerns and cottiers on whose labors they lived. For in the midst of this battle of giants, * * * the English people who lived by wages were sinking lower and lower, and fast taking their place * * * as the beggarly hewers and drawers of prosperous and progressive England."—Thorold Rogers: *Work and Wages*, p. 97.

15. Green: *History of the English People*, pp. 259-272.

been invented and the towns had learned to fight with printers' ink, and what before had been a war of spears and bullets became a war of printed as well as of spoken words. The princes who had most used the claim of the divine right of kings had secured the sanction of the Church to their pretensions, but the Church had learned its power and had refused to give "divine" credentials to princes whose conduct it could not control. The disowned princes and rebellious towns organized new churches of their own and the new churches became the defenders of the new towns and the champions of the new industrial gospel: "Go ye unto all nations and trade with them."

124. Commerce.—The wage system had come, and under it the workers were producing more than slaves had produced, but were receiving less than had been given slaves. The world commerce had made its beginning—the modern factory was still in its infancy, and war between the new employers and the old lords was at its height.

125. Political Economy and the Factory Towns.—Political economy was made a science by itself. The subjects it discussed were the topics in controversy between the towns and the castles, and the positions taken by the economists were uniformly on the side of the towns. The towns wanted free trade. So did the economists. The towns wanted free labor, with no interference by the state and no scourge but hunger to drive the laborer to his task, and no limit but his endurance, either in the direction of a long day or a short ration. So did the economists. The towns wanted usury laws abolished and capital free to make its own bargains. So did the economists. The towns insisted that their way of doing things was the only way—was the natural way. With the towns, nothing was so sacred as a bargain. They made no pretensions

of claiming the divine right of the towns. They were sure they would be safely defended if they could trace their authority to a bargain. They gave the outlines of an impossible contract, made by an impossible company of original contractors, and named it the "Social Compact." They made the subject matter, about which these impossible "high" contracting parties were making their bargains, what they termed man's "natural rights," and curiously enough, they found these rights and this compact to justify exactly what the towns were doing and what the economists were contending for.¹⁶

126. Wage System Came by Choice of the Masters.

—The wage system succeeded serfdom and slavery, not as a victory won by the workers, but as a change made by the masters, and because the wage system was found to be more profitable to the masters than either serfdom or slavery. This is known to have been the case, for the following reasons:

127. Workers Were Helpless.—1. The workers had no power to compel such a change. Every effort which they made for improvement was mercilessly punished

16. Professor Richard T. Ely says, in his "Political Economy," p. 312, that "the most fruitful sources of economic enquiry" are themselves modern, and he so explains the absence of any separate science of economy until after the important financial operations of governments and questions concerning labor had made their appearance. John Stuart Mill declares in the first sentence in his "Political Economy" that in "any department of human affairs, practice long precedes science: systematic enquiry into the modes of the powers of nature is a tardy product of a long course of efforts to use these powers for practical ends."

In these two utterances from these two representative men, Mr. Ely of the modern school, and Mr. Mill of the classical school of political economy, we have the statement of an important truth. Prof. Ely admits that political economy had no occasion to be "separated out of a large whole and constructed into a separate science" until "government financial transactions and questions concerning labor" had become matters of importance. Mr. Mill offers a philosophical explanation of this circumstance. The science of political economy was practiced before it was taught. It was practiced by the rising factory towns and was taught in the interest of the rising "middle-class."

by both sides of the controversy between the towns and the castles. Luther encouraged a war for the slaughter of peasants, which finally killed not less than a hundred thousand of those who had been his own followers.¹⁷ Cromwell acted after the same manner.¹⁸ All of the old warfare for liberty was controlled by the employers and merchants of the new manufacturing towns, as against the lords of the old system. The peasants and factory toilers had no share in them, except as they were used to fight other men's battles for them.

128. Could Have Had Slaves.—2. The new industry could have been equipped with serfs for laborers. Slaves could have been obtained. The employers accepted wage workers instead of serfs or slaves in enterprises in which they insisted that the only motive was business for profits. Therefore, wage labor must have been more profitable, or it would not have been chosen.

129. A Long Evolution.—3. The line of advance by which the wage system came into existence began with inter-tribal wars, and in the line of mastery it was warrior, victor, master, lord and at last employer; while in the line of subjection it was warrior, captive, slave, serf and at last the employed. The wage system is simply the last step in this long class struggle, and is the last and final form of mastery and servitude. It had no other beginning than war and has no other foundation than force. Each step has been taken by the wish of the masters and the conditions of each form of servitude have been enforced by the power of

17. "No mercy, no toleration is due to the peasants; on them should fall the wrath of God and of man." * * * They should "be treated as mad dogs."—Martin Luther, quoted from his life, written by himself, p. 184.

18. Church: Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 328.

the soldier, and the soldier still guards the shop and mine to enforce conditions to which the workers would not otherwise submit.

130. Summary.—1. The establishment of the wage system was simply the denial to the workers of any rights they may have had, either as slaves or serfs.

2. The wage system finally succeeded both slavery and serfdom, because more profitable for the masters.

3. The beginning of the wage system was simply the beginning of the exercise of the right of discharge by the masters.

4. The right to quit work on the part of the workers was not granted at the beginning of the wage system, and is still a subject of public controversy.

5. The right of discharge has become the most powerful means of industrial discipline ever held in the hands of the masters.

6. All of the strife of all of the years of controversy between the old militarism of the castles and the new commercialism of the towns was not in behalf of the workers, but was simply a struggle between two classes of masters to determine which should exploit the workers.

7. The old aristocracy lost and the bargain-making class won in this fight, because of economic causes, for instance,—1st, the culmination of the old system and the impossibility of its further development after it had brought into existence the modern nations. 2nd, the discovery of new countries. 3rd, the development of foreign trade. 4th, the invention of gunpowder, and of printing, and the overstocking of the feudal estates with more workers than could be profitably employed, especially after the invention of gunpowder, and the collapse of the old military system.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Trace the steps by which victorious warriors and their successors became employers and the steps by which those captured in war and their successors became wage-workers.
2. What was the one thing which was always forbidden under slavery and serfdom and has now become, in the hands of employers, the most terrible means of industrial discipline?
3. By what process were the modern nations developed and how does it compare with the process by which the ancient nations were developed?
4. How did conditions of peace come to be established over large territories?
5. What effect did this have on the production of wealth?
6. What effect did the great increase of production for the market have on the castles and the towns?
7. Why did the kings encourage the towns? What powers did they grant to the towns?
8. What effect did the invention of gunpowder have on the increase in the number of wage workers? Why?
9. How was the claim of the divine right of kings used to extend their power? How was it finally used against the kings? What did the kings and the towns do when the power of the church was used against them?
10. What was the condition as to ability to live without dependence on others of those who were denied their former rights under serfdom and became wage workers in large numbers?
11. Name some of the things contended for by the towns and afterward taught by the political economist.
12. On whose behalf was serfdom abandoned for the wage system and why? Give proofs.

CHAPTER IX

THE ERA OF INVENTION AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

131. Slaves, Lands, Tools.—The preceding chapters have shown how war created slavery, how war enforced the private appropriation of both land and slaves, how the master classes have shifted the manner of employing the disinherited and dependent laborers from a condition of slavery, first to serfdom, and then to the wage system, that is, modern capitalism, and, hence, how capitalism has had its origin. Under slavery both the land and the workers were made the private property of the masters as the only known means by which the workers' products could be taken away from them. Under serfdom the land was held as private property of the masters, but the workers were given their partial liberty, the masters depending on their private ownership of the land as the principal means by which the workers' products could be taken away from them. Under modern capitalism the pretension is that the masters have given full personal liberty to the workers to come and to go as they choose. They depend wholly on the private ownership of both land and tools as the means of taking away from the workers the products of their labor.

132. The Earth Not Restored.—The natural occupancy and free use of the earth, which was lost by the conquered tribes, as the result of barbarian wars which made them slaves, was not restored to the workers under serfdom, nor has it been restored to them under modern capitalism. The tools of industry were still simple and inexpensive at the beginning of modern capitalism. Owning the means of production, including both the natural resources and the tools of industry, the capitalists held in their own hands the management of industry and appropriated to their own benefit the total products of industry, giving to the workers only such wages as would maintain their efficiency, just as they gave to their machines the oil necessary to reduce friction and save the waste of wear. While all this was true at the beginning of capitalism, modern capitalism could not have been what it is at all, had it not been for the wonderful development of modern machinery.

133. Arrested Growth.—Throughout the primitive life of the race, each step in advance was the result of some improvement in the means whereby the race provided for its own existence. At the close of this primitive period and at the beginning of civilization, the simple tools of production had been developed to a point beyond which no important improvement was made during the whole period of civilization until very recent years.

134. Slavery and Inventions.—The introduction of slavery seems to have stopped the process of invention and improvement in the tools of industry.¹ Under slavery, if the worker improved his tools, no benefit could come to him, and the masters, having no share in doing the work, found it easier to use the lash or increase the number of their slaves than to take the

1. "The history of man is the history of arrested growth."—Emerson: *Natural History of the Intellect*.

pains to improve the tools, even if they had had the ability to develop the tools of industry while they were themselves devoted to the use of the weapons of war.

135. Militarism and Politics.—Throughout slavery and serfdom the world's advance was marked, not by the introduction of new tools, but chiefly by changes in the organization of labor and of governments which were military, both in the form of their organization and in the purpose of their existence. The world's progress for five thousand years was not in the line of improving the implements of industry, but by conquering small tribal organizations and establishing other larger organizations in their stead, which are now growing into a world-wide political power, doing police duty for a world-wide industrial and commercial life. This task of conquest was first undertaken when the early tribes had outgrown their boundaries. It was carried on for long centuries with no knowledge on the part of the actors as to the final economic effects of the conflicts in which they were engaged.

136. Culmination of Growth of Tools, Organization and Conquest.—In the present struggle, there is a culmination of both the development of organizations of men and of the great improvement of the tools of industry. At last the control of this world-life on an industrial and commercial basis is the known cause of the conscious and purposeful struggle of all the nations of the world. The methods of organization under which labor is employed and the tools with which its efforts are made productive, combine together to usher in this last new era. The present forms of industrial organization of both laborers and capitalists are the culmination of the wage system; this system, we have seen, was the outgrowth of both slavery and serfdom. It still maintains conditions under which those who toil are dependent for the opportunity to do so, upon those who are themselves not workers, nor are they so

vitally interested in the continuance and effectiveness of industry as are the workers.

137. Machinery.—The development of machinery, under which productive ability is greatly increased, has come to its present effectiveness, together with the culmination of the world's conquest and the culmination of the forms of industrial organization.

It is the purpose of this chapter to take up the improvement of tools at the place where it was dropped at the close of the fourth chapter, and to point out the conditions under which the invention and improvement in the tools of industry have been renewed, and to show the relation of this great industrial improvement to the development of the forms of the organization of industry.

138. The Free Cities, the American Frontier and Inventions.—In the eighth chapter attention was called to the free cities of northern Europe and to the revival of industry under the free, self-employing laborers who created those cities; once more, after a lapse of five thousand years, these new cities gave to the individual worker a direct interest in the effectiveness of the tools of his own industry. The improvement which had suddenly ceased with the beginning of slavery was here renewed with the renewal of self-employment. The revival of inventions extended to America, for wherever self-employment went, there the genius of the inventor once more sprang into activity, and the improvement of tools became again a great factor in the growth of the race life.

139. Industrial Occupation and Inventions.—But the revival of inventions was under conditions not in existence under barbarism. The struggle for existence had become distinctly an industrial struggle. Industry was no longer the work of women only and the industrial employments were not now supplemented by the hunters or the fishermen, not even by the spoils of

war as a regular dependence, in the struggle for the means of life. For the military had not only ceased to be in any way a source of income to the state, but had become instead a direct burden on the industrial classes. In fact, the work of the soldiers becomes more and more, not so much to conquer other countries in order to enrich their own countries, as to police the industrial workers and enforce submission to the dictates of their capitalistic masters.²

All workers of both sexes were now industrial workers, many of them with a direct interest in the value of their own products. And the old, rude tools handed down from barbarism, and across the whole period of

2. "The economic disturbances since 1873 contingent on war expenditures are not different in kind from those of former periods, but much greater in degree. This subject has been so thoroughly investigated and is so well understood that nothing more need be said in this connection than to point out that men in actual service at the present time in the armies and navies of Europe are in excess of 4,000,000, or about one to every fifteen of all the men of arms-bearing age—all consumers and no producers. The number of men in reserve who are armed, subject to drill, and held ready for service at any moment, is about 14,250,000 in addition. Including the reserves, the present standing armies and navies of Europe require the services of one in every five of the men of arms-bearing age, or one in every twenty-four of the whole population. It is also estimated that it requires the constant product of one peasant engaged in agriculture, or of one operative engaged in manufacturing in the commercial and manufacturing states of Europe, to equip and sustain one soldier; that it requires the labor of one man to be diverted from every two hundred acres; and that a sum equivalent to \$1.10 shall be deducted from the annual product of every acre. The present aggregate annual expenditure of Europe for military and naval purposes is probably in excess of a thousand million dollars. We express this expenditure in terms of money, but it means work performed; not that abundance of useful and desirable things may be increased, but decreased; not that toil may be lightened, but augmented.

"As to the ultimate outcome of this state of affairs—ostensibly kept up for the propagation or promotion of civilization—there is an almost perfect agreement of opinion among those who have studied it; and that is, that the existence and continuance of the present military system of Continental Europe is impoverishing its people, impairing their industrial strength, effectually hindering progress, driving the most promising men out of the several states to seek peaceful homes in foreign countries, and ultimately threatening the destruction of the whole fabric of society."—Wells: *Recent Economic Changes*, pp. 322-23.

slavery and serfdom, rapidly grew into machines instead of tools.³

140. Tools and Machines.—The difference between a machine and a tool has been the subject of some discussion, but the real importance of this question is not so much in the technical or mechanical descriptions of tools or machines, as in the economic consequences of the development of the machines and their general use in production.

There are four such important differences between tools and machines. (1) The tools were cheap, anybody could own them. The machines are expensive, only the joint savings of many workers or the holders of great inherited properties can possess them. (2) The tools were simple, anybody could use them single-handed and alone. The machines are large and complicated, and require the joint labor of many. (3) The tools with single-handed industry were not productive enough to yield a product much beyond the needs of the worker's family, and hence their use did not fundamentally depend on a public market⁴ for the goods produced, but instead, principally, on a private need

3. "An instrument of labor is a thing, or a complex of things, which the laborer interposes between himself and the subject of his labor, and which serves as the conductor of his activity.

"He makes use of the mechanical, physical and chemical properties of some substances in order to make other substances subservient to his aims. * * * Thus nature becomes one of the organs of his activity, one that he annexes to his own bodily organs, adding stature to himself. * * * As the earth is his original larder, so too, it is his original tool house. It supplies him, for instance, with stones for throwing, grinding, pressing, cutting, etc. The earth itself is an instrument of labor."—Marx: Capital, p. 158.

4. "We must now descend from the consideration of the Industry and the Market, or group of related businesses, to examine the character and structure of the unit of industry—the Business.

"In a study of the composition or co-operation of labor and capital in a Business before the era of machine-production there are five points of dominant importance—(1) the ownership of the material; (2) the ownership of the tools; (3) the ownership of the productive power; (4) the relations subsisting between the individual units of labor; (5) the work-place."—Hobson: The Evolution of Modern Capitalism, pp. 34-35.

for their use. The producer was also the consumer. But the machine produces goods on so large a scale that the wide market is an indispensable condition of the use of the machine.⁵ And (4) each industry carried on with hand tools completed its own products, but the introduction of machinery involves the establishment of great industries whose finished product becomes the raw material of other producers, and so the natural, untouched, raw materials go through the hands of many manufacturers on their way from a state of nature to the finished product. And hence the machine involves the manufacturers in relations of great mutual dependence on each other. This last item is made particularly clear in the matter of the great improvements in the methods of transportation. Here, then, is the gist of the economic consequences of the transition from the use of simple tools to the use of the great modern machines. The ownership and use of the simple tools and the consumption of the products were all mainly an individual matter, and the interdependent relations of manufacturers were not usually of a serious nature. In the case of the machines, joint ownership, joint use, the public market, and relations of great mutual dependence of the different enterprises on each other, are all inevitable.

141. The Industrial Revolution.—Now notice some of the consequences of this transition. The introduction of modern capitalism left the capitalist in control of the means of production, but at the beginning of modern capitalism, the tools were so simple and so inexpensive that self-employing and self-supporting labor was still possible. Using the old simple tools, the worker could equip himself out of savings from his wages and then employ his own labor, and in that way escape from the exploitation of the employer.

5. "The agricultural and other machinery in this country is equivalent to the combined effort of a population of over 400,000,000."—*The Trust: Its Book*, p. 6.

Here is the core and essence of the Industrial Revolution, resulting from the introduction of modern machinery:⁶—Personal independence was the most marked characteristic of the old hand producer. Mutual inter-dependence is inevitable under machine production. The helpless personal dependence of the man without machines on the man with machines is inevitable so long as machine production is carried on under capitalism. Hence it is seen that the development of the machines made production a social mat-

6. "The chief material factor in the evolution of Capitalism is machinery."—Hobson: *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, p. 5.

" * * * For all authorities agree that the 'industrial revolution,' the event which has divided the nineteenth century from all antecedent time, began with the year 1760."—Adams: *Law of Civilization and Decay*, p. 313.

"A girl with a sewing machine can do the work of twelve men, but on aggregating the labor expended in making a sewing machine we find that one machine embodies a man's work for four and a half days."—Macrosty: *Trusts and the State*, pp. 120-21.

"The starting point and common impulse from which these various streams of evolution preceded was the invention within a space of a few years during the last quarter of the eighteenth century of a number of machines which entirely revolutionized the old methods of industry, and which have been the means of introducing into the statesmanship of the nineteenth century problems unknown in the world before.

"These machines were the spinning-jenny of Hargreave, the water-frame of Arkwright, the mules of Crompton and Kelly, the power-loom of Cartwright, and last and not least important, the steam engine with its common application to all industries alike. Previous to this, the occupations of spinning and weaving, of cutlery and hardware manufacture, had been carried on under what had been called the 'domestic system,' that is to say, in farmhouses and in the dwellings of the thousands of small free holders who still remained unswallowed by the large proprietors, but mainly in the numberless little homesteads rented for the purpose and situate in the fields surrounding the great centers of industry. In these latter, little pasture farms originally of from two to ten acres, all the processes of spinning and weaving, and dyeing, were carried out; each householder having two or three looms, and employing eight or ten hands, men, women and children; the product, when finished, being taken to the markets held periodically in some of the neighboring towns, to which merchants from the larger centers came to buy either for home consumption or for exportation to the Colonies or abroad. For ages the rule had been that the workman himself owned his own machine as well as the raw materials of his industry; but as the demand increased and there was difficulty in getting enough yarn from the spinners, the merchants from the towns

ter rather than a private affair. It left the capitalist still the owner of the great machinery of production, just as the worker had formerly owned his own small tools, and hence it not only made production social, rather than private, but made the capitalist the private owner and the petty master of social interests. This made the capitalists the private masters of social necessities just as if social necessities could properly be private affairs, subject to private ownership, to private

began to supply the raw material themselves, and to give it out to the weavers; still later, they supplied not only the material but the looms also, which were now set up in the buildings belonging to these merchants, so that there was nothing left to the workman but his labor. This, it is to be observed, was before the new machines had revolutionized the industry; and yet so long as the little homestead weavers scattered over the land held their own, wages were kept up and even raised to meet the increased demand of the ever-growing population of the country and the Colonies. The condition of the workmen accordingly, in spite of the rapidly rising price of bread, was one of comparative happiness and comfort; and this continued during all the years of the Factory System; wages being as much as doubled to meet the enormous demand which followed the cheapening of the prices of woolen and cotton goods by the new machines.

"In the meantime the steam engine, which had been invented years before, was being applied to the new machinery; and thus factories, which when water power alone was used had been scattered about the country on the banks of streams, were now transferred and confined to a few of the great towns—Leeds, Halifax, Manchester, Bolton and the rest—where an unlimited supply of labor could be picked up from the streets. And still the wages of the more skilled workmen were maintained, owing to the enormous increase of the demand. But when the power-loom was invented and applied; and when the factory chimneys in consequence rose ever thicker against the sky-line, and vast populations of human beings drawn from all the winds swarmed in the long rows of dingy streets that lay alongside of them and about their base; and when the output, as was inevitable sooner or later, caught up with and at last overtopped the demand, then came those recurring periods of ruinous recoil in the shape of over-production, gluts, falling markets, half-time and stagnation; and—what was unknown in the world before then,—wages, from the sheer impossibility of regulating them in the jumble and confusion which the new machinery had caused, were suffered to be forced up and down at the caprice of the masters or according to the state of the market, as if the men had been bales of goods or sacks of coal. Seven centuries had come and gone since the men of these islands had fought hand to hand with the foreign invader; and meanwhile the laborer had passed by slow and gradual stages from serfdom to freedom; but he had all along been assured of a decent subsistence, either by his legal right as serf, or by wages fixed by Justices of the Peace acting as arbiters between master and man.

control and hence to the private appropriation of the social products.⁷

142. The Organization of Industry and Inventions.

—It was the application of inventive genius to the organization of labor, as well as to the improvement of tools, which made possible this development of machines instead of simple, single-handed tools. So long as the worker was manufacturing shoes, working by himself, and making the whole shoe with his own labor, it never occurred to him to use other tools than the simple hand tools involved in the process. But the division of labor, so that one worked at tanning the leather, another at cutting the shoes, another at putting on soles, another at the heels, suggested the possibility of the use of machines to do the simple things which each separate part of the process involved. No inventor would ever have undertaken to invent a machine which

And now after seven centuries of peace, war had broken out, but this time industrial war, fought, it is true with legal weapons, but all the more subtle and deadly on that account, and waged for the golden spoils which the new inventions were pouring out in sackfuls along the streets to be scrambled for,—and with issue in the event of failure, starvation. In this struggle, the masters, by a curious conjunction of circumstances, ill-timed for the men, easily got the upper hand, and holding the men down, bound hand and foot in the meshes of some old statutes and regulations. * * *”—Crozier: *History of Intellectual Development*, Vol III, pp. 47**50.

7. “To be a capitalist is to have not only a purely personal, but a social status in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion.

“Capital is therefore not a personal; it is a social power.

“When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property.”—Marx and Engels; *Communist Manifesto*, p. 35.

“The conditions of labor underwent (in the Industrial Revolution) the greatest modification they have experienced since the origin of society. * * * That transformation from patriarchal labor into industrial feudalism, in which the workman, the new serf of the workshop, seems bound to the glebe of wages, did not alarm the English producers, although it had the character of suddenness quite adapted to disturb their habits. They were far from foreseeing that machinery would bring them so much power and so many anxious cares.”—Blanqui: *History of Political Economy*, pp. 430-31.

would make a shoe, but when a worker was set to putting on heels, he was not long in devising a machine which greatly quickened the process and added largely to the volume and value of his product.

143. Power Machinery, Connecting Machinery and Machine Tools.—Invention has been developed along three lines.⁸

(1) One has been devices by which other forces could be made to take the place of hand power. It is said that a horse, when harnessed and set to the plow, could, at the beginning, turn thirty times as much soil in a day as its driver was before able to turn with a spade. The treadmill, the sweepstake and devices for the use of wind, water, steam, electricity and the gas engine, are all instances in the development of machines whose purpose is to make available other forces for motive power to supplant hand power. As the horse was first used, the effectiveness of machines since introduced for this purpose is measured by so many "horse-power." (2) The development of tools intended to take the place of the hands of the worker. (3) The shafting, belts, chains and knuckle joints, with which the power is carried from the power machine to the machine tool. But this has not been one of such difficulties as were met with in providing the power or in devising the machines which would take the place of the skill of the human hands.

The automatic machine, for taking the place of the human hands, is being developed with great rapidity. It was only a few years ago that watchmakers supposed that their craft was beyond the reach of machinery; but now no human hands can make the works of a watch so accurately as the machines since devised for that purpose. It is claimed that the labor cost for the works of a standard watch is but fifteen cents and that

8. Marx: Capital, pp. 367-68.

the cutting machinery can be adjusted to the one two-hundredth part of a hair.

The trend of development is, that whatever needs to be lifted, the working man is required simply to attach the machine, and that whatever needs to be formed in the process of manufacture, the working man is required in order to stop and start the machine, but even in his function as a starter his occupation is being taken away.

Fifty years ago, in the manufacture of nails, it required a man with the training of an apprentice and the skill and care of an experienced worker, but today a nail machine makes sixteen nails at a stroke and all the worker needs to do is to hang up that many coils of wire, adjust them to the machinery, set it in motion, and come around again to renew the supply when the machinery has eaten up and transformed into nails the raw materials so placed within its reach.

144. The Skilled Worker and Machinery.—In the old industry, the skill was in the hands of the worker. The simple tools are of little value except the trained hand, which has learned its trade in long years of practice, is present to wield the tools. The genius of modern industry expresses itself, not in the skill of the worker, but in the intricate and difficult contrivances of the inventor. Equipped with this machinery, women are driving their husbands out of the shops, and children are displacing their mothers, and the skilled trades are disappearing before the onslaught of the inventor in a conflict where no other form of attack had been able to withstand the organizations of these trades.

145. Displacement of Labor.—The first economic effect of labor-saving machinery is to displace labor.⁹

9. "But in the great majority of cases, the whole advantage of a new discovery, a new process, and a new machine rests with the

It has been argued that such labor is re-employed in making machinery. If it were all so re-employed, then there would be no saving of labor. It is argued that it is re-employed in producing new articles; that these new articles are demanded for the use of those whose income is enlarged by the existence of the machine, and the enlargement of income means a corresponding enlargement of expenditure; that the additional expenditure means additional articles of use, and that, therefore, together with this advancing of the standard of living, comes necessarily the re-employment of the labor displaced by the new machine.

But the answer is, that the new machine is constantly entering every new field and that the process of displacement is as continuous in the new demands which the increased incomes of the owners of the machines enable them to make as in the old ones; that the machinery is meeting the worker at every point, increasing the productivity of the shops while it lessens the number of workers required, and that this displacement occurs all along the line. It is absurd to contend that the displaced labor in one shop finds re-employment in another, while as a matter of fact the process of displacement is going on in all shops.

146. Loss of Solidarity.—One of the most important effects of the modern development of machinery on the question of labor has been that during the time of its development and under the wage system, it has divided the workers into all sorts of smaller groups; has provided for some much better opportunities than for others, and while there has been a continuous struggle be-

capitalist employer. The great inventions of steam and the machinery employed in textile fabrics remained with those who invented and applied these capital forces and processes. The artisan, by whose labor the development of this wealth was alone possible, became more impoverished and stunted. If population was stimulated, it was made more miserable, and population will grow rapidly when the condition of the people is deteriorated."—Rogers: *Work and Wages*, pp. 545-46.

tween those in possession of the means of production and those without any ownership in them, still many of those without ownership have been able to deliver themselves from the necessity of further toil through industry, thrift or theft, and so by becoming the owners of tools which others must use, escape themselves from the working class.

147. Individual Deliverance.—As a matter of fact, the development of the equipment and organization of modern capitalism has been almost wholly the achievement of those who were themselves from the ranks of the workers. In the early development of industry, and especially on the frontiers, there were industrial and commercial opportunities by which a part of the workers could effect an advance over the fortunes of their fellows, and so by looking out for themselves provide for themselves, each on his own account, which tended to obscure, if not obliterate, all sense of solidarity of interest among the workers themselves.

148. Workers Again Bound to Their Class.—But as the organization and equipment of industry becomes more perfect, it is becoming increasingly difficult for a born worker to escape from his class. The brightest minds among the workers a hundred years ago were giving their whole strength to the achievement of their own individual deliverance from the working class and to securing to themselves position and standing among the builders of new industrial establishments. But as advance is made toward completion of industrial plants and the perfection of industrial equipments, and especially the organization of industry on a world-wide basis, the unusually gifted, along with the rest, will be doomed to remain in the ranks of the workers.

This is true, not only of the trades, but of the professions. It is becoming increasingly difficult to make a beginning in any of the professions, or, being a child

of poverty, to work one's way out of the dependent relations into which such a birth delivers him.

149. The Strong Men—To Save Themselves Must Save Their Class.—It was the men of unusual ability among the workers of the last generation who have had the larger share in creating the capitalism of this generation, but the men of the same gifts in this generation and the next will be able to save themselves only by creating conditions under which all others may achieve deliverance along with themselves.

The culmination of capitalism will close the doors of opportunity against the very gifts and powers among the workers which at the first so largely created capitalism, and in the end these same gifts and powers for organization and direction which have arisen from among the workers to create modern capitalism, in the past generations, will in this or the next generation capture, for the use of all, the organization and equipment which the genius of the workers created, but which the forms of capitalism have diverted from the saving of labor to the oppression of the laborers.

And so this era of invention, which began with some of the workers, once more their own employers, which vastly and rapidly improved the means of production, which excited the hopes of the wage worker to the degree of obscuring for many years the real economic class lines, and finally set the statesmen of whole continents to denying the existence of economic classes at all, culminates with bringing the workers once more to realize the common dependence of the whole class of the workers on the whole class of the capitalist employers. This struggle of the worker to own his own shop, the struggle of the small shop to become a large one, the effort of the workers to escape one at a time, has utterly failed to deliver the class of workers and the economic class lines were never clearer between

master and slave, between lord and serf, than they are now between the exploiter and the exploited, in these days of the triumph of the machine, in its equipment of capitalism, and the triumph of capitalism, in making the public interests of all the private possessions of a few.¹⁰

150. Summary.—1. Throughout the primitive life of the race, each advance in the social life was the result of an improvement in the tools or weapons used in providing existence or defense.

2. The improvement of tools practically came to a sudden stop with the beginning of slavery, which became universal with the coming of civilization.

3. Throughout the period of civilization, until recent years, there was very little improvement of the tools; during this period the social changes were the results of changes in the manner of the organization and use of labor, or of military power, rather than by changes in the tools used by the laborers.

4. The revival of inventions was the result of the self-employment of labor in northern Europe and in America.

10. "The strange story of Frankenstein was, I make no doubt, suggested to Mary Godwin out of the opinions which she received from her father. Frankenstein had contrived to put life into a gigantic being which he had constructed, and on which he intended to bestow super-human strength, stature and beauty. His creation had strength and stature but was unutterably and shockingly hideous. The maker of the monster abandoned the horrible creature, which had to shift for itself, and to learn the arts of life in solitude, as all fled with loathing from the sight of it. It possessed infinite powers of endurance, infinite capacity for learning, great determination and cunning, irresistible strength. It yearned for society, for sympathy, and for kindness; and meeting with none of these, being rejected by all and made a loathsome outcast, after it had been called into being, it became an infuriate fiend, which pursued with implacable hate and with the most cruel wrongs the man who, being the author of its existence, was thereupon its most detested enemy. This remarkable conception was intended, it is clear, to personify the misery, the loneliness, the endurance, the strength, the revenge of that anarchic spirit which misgovernment engenders, the suddenness with which its passions seize their opportunities, and the hopelessness of the pursuit after it, when it has spent its fury for a time. Most European governments have been engaged in the work of Frankenstein, and have created the monsters with whom they have to deal."—Rogers: *Work and Wages*, p. 554.

5. The economic effect of machinery is the displacement of labor.

6. The social effect of the introduction of machinery, together with the opportunities which new countries offer for self-employment, even with the old tools, has been to largely obscure the line of division between the owners and the workers of the world. The opportunity for some of the workers to escape has led to the feeling that all workers could escape from the dependence of the wage workers' lot, if determined to do so.

7. The social effect of the completion of the equipment of industry, organized in world-wide trusts, is to close the door of opportunity for all those born to the lot of the working man, and will compel the strong minds of the working class to struggle, along with the rest, for the emancipation of all, as the only means whereby may come the deliverance of any.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. What relation did the improvements in the tools of primitive industry have to the development of the race life?
2. When did the improvement in ancient tools cease, and why?
3. What form of industrial change took the place of changes in the tools as the cause of social advance, after the improvement in the tools had ceased?
4. For how long a time did the improvement in tools practically cease and under what conditions was invention revived?
5. Name the main lines along which inventions have been developed.
6. How were inventions stimulated by the division of labor?
7. What is the economic effect of the introduction of machinery?
8. Is displaced labor re-employed?
9. How did the modern era of development affect the class lines during its earlier advance?
10. What effect is the completer development having on the same lines?
11. Whence came the ability to organize and develop great enterprises?
12. When those with ability to organize and direct great enterprises can no longer save themselves, each acting alone, from the working class, what then will be the way of escape?

CHAPTER IX

THE TRUST, THE WORLD MARKET AND IMPERIALISM

151. Evolution of the Corporation.—The corporation came into existence, not by the base or criminal actions of men. The great machine made joint ownership inevitable. This joint ownership was first undertaken by partnerships. But as the result of long years of business experience and development, the corporation appeared. It came as the survival of the form of organization best fitted to the necessities of effective joint ownership. But the corporation itself is still subject to the same law of the survival of the fittest and the destruction of the unfittest, and the evolution of capitalism into new forms of organization still continues. And these new forms are created just as the old ones were, by economic necessities—not as the result of the good or the bad qualities of the individuals involved.

152. Victory of the Big Machines.—The corporation came as a body large enough, by the joint savings of the individual earnings of many, to make possible the joint ownership of the great machines. The use of these machines at once made necessary a larger

market. This was at first secured by a destructive competition of the new and larger machines against the older and smaller ones—and, in the beginning of modern capitalism, against the simple tools of primitive industry. Because those with great machines produced with greater economy, they were able to destroy competitors who were working with inferior tools. This would lead to the day when no more markets could be obtained by destroying competitive establishments with inferior equipments.

153. A Wider Market.—Every improvement in the machinery meant a larger product, and, hence, a wider market. In the nature of the case, the time must come when the best machinery would be in many establishments and many such establishments would be contending for supremacy in the same market.¹ In such

1. "There is every reason to believe that with a diminution in the number of competitors and an increase of their size, competition grows keener and keener. Under old business conditions custom held considerable sway; the personal element played a larger part alike in determining quality of goods and good faith; purchasers did not so closely compare prices; they were not guided exclusively by figures; they did not systematically beat down prices, nor did they devote so large a proportion of their time, thought, and money to devices for taking away one another's customers. From the new business this personal element and these customary scruples have almost entirely vanished, and as the net advantages of large scale production grow, more and more attention is devoted to the direct work of competition. Hence we find that it is precisely in those trades which are most highly organized, provided with the most advanced machinery, and composed of the largest units of capital, that the fiercest and most unscrupulous competition has shown itself. The precise part which machinery, with its incalculable tendency to over-production, has played in this competition remains for later consideration. Here it is enough to place in evidence the acknowledged fact that the growing scale of the business has intensified and not diminished competition. In the great machine industries trade fluctuations are most severely felt; the smaller businesses are unable to stand before the tide of depression and collapse, or are driven in self-defense to coalesce. The borrowing of capital, the formation of joint stock enterprises and every form of co-operation in capital has proceeded most rapidly in the textile, metal, transport, shipping, and machine-making industries, and in those minor manufactures, such as brewing and chemicals, which require large quantities of expensive plant. This joining together of small capitals to make a single large capital, this swallowing up of small by large businesses, means nothing else than the endeavor to

a case, the smallest advantage in the effectiveness of the machinery used, in the skill with which labor was organized and employed, or in the ability with which the market was sought for—would give the final mastery to that corporation in whose favor the general average of advantage was found to fall. An absolute equilibrium in all these particulars could not be hoped for; but even that could not prevent the unavoidable movement of capitalism towards concentration.

154. Bankruptcy and Consolidation.—Two such corporations facing each other, buying raw materials in the same market, hiring labor in the same market, using machinery of the same efficiency, could not successfully withstand and finally prevent the consolidation of their enterprises.

Under such conditions, one of three things must hap-

escape the risks and dangers attending small-scale production in the tide of modern industrial changes. But since all are moving in the same direction, no one gains upon the other. Certain common economies are shared by the monster competitors, but more and more energy must be given to the work of competition, and the productive economies are partly squandered in the friction of fierce competition, and partly pass over to the body of consumers in lowered prices. Thus the endeavor to secure safety and high profits by the economies of large-scale production is rendered futile by the growing severity of the competitive process. Each big firm finds itself competent to undertake more business than it already possesses, and underbids its neighbor until the cutting of prices has sunk the weaker and driven profits to a bare subsistence point for the stronger competitors.

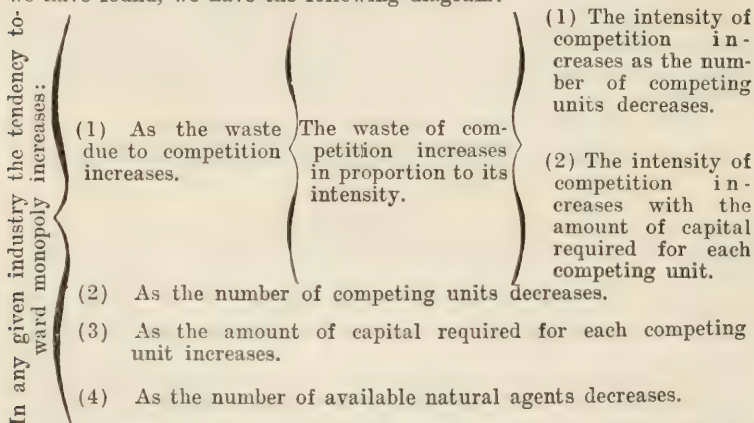
"So long as the increased size of business brings with it a net economic advantage, the competition of ever larger competitors, whose total power of production is far ahead of sales at remunerative prices, and who are therefore constrained to devote an increased proportion of energy to taking one another's trade, must intensify this cut-throat warfare. The diminishing number of competitors in a market does not ease matters in the least, for the intensity of the strife reaches its maximum when two competing businesses are fighting a life or death struggle. As the effective competitors grow fewer, not only is the proportion of attention each devotes to the other more continuous and more highly concentrated, but the results of success more intrinsically valuable, for the reward, of victory over the last competitor is the attainment of monopoly."—Hobson: *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, pp. 120-22.

pen; and whichever happens, consolidation must necessarily result.²

First, if either proved in the slightest degree to be the superior of the other, the inferior would be driven into bankruptcy as the result of a prolonged battle for the control and monopoly of the market. Then the successful establishment would absorb the business of both, and consolidation would result.

Secondly, if they should prove equally strong in the strife for the market, they could stay in the fight until

2. "Arranging in their logical order the laws of competition which we have found, we have the following diagram:



"The preceding diagram sets plainly before us the three great salient causes from which have grown the long list of monopolies under which our civilization labors. First, the supply of natural agents of which new competitors in any industry may avail themselves has been largely exhausted, or has been gathered up by existing monopolies to render their position more secure, the world has not the natural resources to develop that it had a century ago. Second, the concentration of all the productive industries, except agriculture, into great establishments, while it has enormously lessened the cost of production, has so reduced the number of competing units that a monopoly is the inevitable final result. Last, the enormous capital required for the establishment and maintenance of new competing units tends to fortify the monopoly in its position and renders the escape of the public from its grasp practically impossible. These terse statements contain exactly the kernel of potent truth for which we are seeking; monopolies of every sort are an inevitable result from certain conditions of modern civilization.

"The vital importance of this truth cannot be over-estimated. For so long as we refuse to recognize it, so long as we attempt to

both were ruined and some new company took the business of both—which, again, would be consolidation.³

Thirdly, if they should refuse to contend and instead combine, then there is combination direct and outright.

stop the present evils of monopoly by trying to add a feeble one to the number of competing units, or by trying to legislate against special monopolies, we are only building a temporary dam to shut out a flood which can only be controlled at the fountain head.

"The facts of history testify to the truth of this law. Monopolies were never so abundant as to-day, never so powerful, never so threatening; and with unimportant exceptions they have all sprung up with our modern industrial development. The last fifteen years have seen a greater industrial advancement than did the thirty preceding, but they have also witnessed a more than proportionate growth of monopolies. How worse than foolish, then, is the short-sightedness that ascribes monopolies to the personal wickedness of the men who form them. It is as foolish to decry the wickedness of trust makers as it is to curse the schemes of labor monopolists. Each is working unconsciously in obedience to a natural law; and the only reason that almost every man is not engaged in forming or maintaining a similar monopoly is that he is not placed in similar circumstances. Away, then, with the pessimism which declares that the prevalence of monopolies evidences the decay of the nobler aspirations of humanity. The monopolies of today are a natural outgrowth of the laws of modern competition, and they are as actually the result of the application of steam, electricity, and machinery to the service of men as are our factories and railways. Great evils though they may have become, there is naught of evil omen in them to make us fear for the ultimate welfare of our liberties.

"To the practical mind, however, the question at once occurs, what light have we gained toward the proper method of counteracting this evil? Can it be true that the conditions of modern civilization necessitate our subjection to monopolies, and that all our vaunted progress in the arts of peace only brings us nearer to an inevitable and deplorable end, in which a few holders of the strongest monopolies shall ride rough-shod over the industrial liberties of the vast mass of humanity? Were this true, perhaps we had better take a step backward; relinquish the factory for the workshop, the railway for the stage coach. 'Better it is to be of an humble spirit with the lowly, than to divide the spoil with the proud.' But the law we have found commits us to no such fate. We cannot, indeed, abolish the causes of monopolies. We cannot create new gifts of Nature, and it would be nonsense to attempt to bring about an increase in the number of competing units and a decrease in the capitalization of each by exchanging our factories and works of today for the workshops of our grandfathers."—Baker: *Monopolies and the People*, pp. 158-161.

3. "John D. Rockefeller, President of the Standard Oil Company, in a written statement submitted to the Industrial Commission, January 10, 1900, thus summarized his views concerning trusts:

"It is too late to argue about the advantages of industrial combinations. Their chief advantages are: 1. Command of necessary

And hence, in the third and only other possible outcome there is still consolidation. Consolidation is as directly the result of the bankruptcy of a part or of all of the competitors as it is the result of the combination of all.⁴

155. The Trust—Consolidation Without Bankruptcy.—The trust is such a combination of corporations, created to avoid the bankruptcy which otherwise was inevitable, for a part or all of the competitors. If the corporations had refused to combine they could not have prevented consolidation. It would have come by the same process of the elimination of the more poorly equipped or the less capable management and the survival and enlargement of the establishments best fitted to survive in the midst of such an economic warfare. The trust simply does intelligently and with foresight and without the bankruptcy of the competing parties, what competition would otherwise have accomplished in spite of the corporations, but by the familiar old road of business failures on the one hand, and the capture of trade on the other.

156. The Trust at Work.—Now, follow this necessary evolution of capitalism into the trust organization, and notice a few things which necessarily follow

capital. 2. Extension of limits of business. 3. Increase of the number of persons interested in the business. 4. Economy in the business. 5. Improvements and economies which are derived from knowledge of many interested persons of wide experience. 6. Power to give the public improved products at less prices and still make a profit for stockholders. 7. Permanent work and good wages for laborers.”—Nettleton: *Trust or Competition*, p. 138.

4. “Indeed, one of the pressing questions is, whether the independent producers who have been crowded out of the field are unfortunate sufferers from natural progress, or whether they are the victims of a wrong against which society should protect them. More centralization means a crushing out of competitors by a process that, however hard it is for them, is in a way legitimate; for it is an incident of the process of the survival of the fittest.”—Professor Clark (Columbia University): *The Control of the Trusts*, pp. 19-21.

the coming of the trust. Notice that the trust does not naturally arise until there are more factories contending for the same market than are needed to supply that market. It is because the market cannot employ all, that some must fail.⁵ And hence, the fight for survival. When the trust comes, it cannot sell more goods in the same market. It can only shut down a part of its factories without making their owners bankrupts. Without the trust, the same factories must have closed anyway, but by making their owners bankrupts.⁶

157. Closing Factories.—Which factories are sure to close? Those where raw materials, transportation and labor are found to be most expensive. The factories which are best located and best equipped for winning in the competitive fight are the ones to produce what the market can take, and earn dividends, not only for their own former stockholders, but also for investments made in plants now doomed to idleness. The trust will always endeavor to manufacture at that place within the territory controlled by the trust where raw materials are cheapest, transportation least expensive and labor most helpless. The general average of advantage in these particulars will determine which factories are to close.

158 Looking for Investments.—Again, so soon as the trust appears in any single line of production, there is thereafter not the same demand for the re-investment of its own earnings in its own business. While the corporations were competing with each other, each cor-

5. "No doubt there are occasions on which a trade cannot continue to produce at its full strength without forcing the sale of its wares on an inelastic market disastrous to itself."—Marshall: *Principles of Economics*, p. 411.

6. "With the exception of the Standard Oil trust, and perhaps one or two others that rose somewhat earlier, it may be fairly said, I think, that not merely competition, but competition that was proving ruinous to many establishments, was the cause of combinations."—Jenks: *Economic Journal*, Vol. II., p. 73.

poration was obliged to re-invest its earnings in enlarging its own business equipment and in extending, by competitive advertising and competing salesmen, the volume of its business. For only the corporation which could do things on the largest scale could produce most cheaply and so be best able to survive.

159. Economies of the Trust.—But as soon as the trust is established, the cost of competing salesmen and competing advertising, together with the wages, or salaries, of great numbers of workers is saved to the combination; and, besides, instead of building more shops, a great saving is made by closing a portion of those already built. As a result, the earnings are larger and, the demand for reinvestment in their own business ceasing, large sums are set at liberty to invest in other lines of business. But the very nature of machine production so relates many lines of manufacturing that the finished product of one manufacturer is the raw material of another. The trust having its earnings free for re-investment, follows its finished products into the related factories and buys or builds related plants, one after another, until it reaches the consumer direct. It follows its raw materials back through the preceding factories and finally to the natural resources direct.

The tanners reach forward into the shoe factory and to the harness shop, and backward to the raw hides until the leather trust controls the whole industry, from the cattle ranch to the purchaser, who consumes the goods. And then its earnings, seeking re-investment, must enter unrelated lines of business.

160. Monopoly and the Trust.—Finally, whenever a trust is established to control any particular market, others not before selling in that market, attracted by the better conditions for trade, will become competitors with the trust, with the result that the same old conflict for control is again renewed, which may end in the

bankruptcy of either or both of the competitors or in a further combination; but, in any case, as shown above, in a further consolidation of the business. With each new enlargement, new competitors will arise, until all competitors selling in that market have either combined with or been destroyed by this ever-growing concentration of business. Therefore, when the trust has once appeared in any line of trade, there is thereafter no logical stopping place for its growth until it has destroyed, or compelled to combine with itself, all competitors selling in the same market.⁷

161. The International Trust.—But the trust is becoming international. It sells in the world market.⁸ Therefore, there is no logical stopping place for the growth of the trust until it has destroyed, or forced to combine with itself, all competitors selling in the world's market.⁹ And hence, from all the foregoing, it is clearly seen that, trust or no trust, consolidation which effects the same economic consequences as the trust is the necessary result of prolonged and determined competition for control of the same market, and that the trust, once in existence, must continue its evolution and necessary growth until one trust shall control all lines of business on all the earth, and shall produce for that whole world, at that place on all the earth where materials are cheapest, access to the sea most direct and labor most helpless.

7. See close of Note 1 above.

8. "It was Marx who first clearly pointed out the nature of the domestic system and its transformation into the factory system of our age, with the attendant change from the local to the national market, and from this in turn to the world market."—Seligman: *The Economic Interpretation of History*, p. 69.

9. "Nevertheless, though these great economic movements were retarded, they could not be wholly arrested. Capitalism has gradually overcome the medieval obstacles; it has swept away local exclusiveness, and has been the means of developing large economic areas. A revolution has taken place in business practice, and the breaking down of commercial restrictions is a change which has affected the traders in all lands."—Cunningham: *The Cambridge Modern History*, p. 531.

162. The World Market.—At the beginning of this century, there were many different nations. To a large degree, each nation had its own government, its own language, its own peculiar institutions, and especially its own industrial and commercial life. But as each nation has developed its own industries, it has been compelled to look for foreign markets in order to dispose of the goods which the workers make, which the masters cannot use, and which the wages paid under capitalism are not enough to enable the workers to buy; and hence, the development of the century has been in the direction of a world market.¹⁰ As each nation has extended its market, it has multiplied its battle-ships, built its coaling stations, and protected its own merchantmen as they have bought or sold in all lands. Industry and commerce have become a matter of international concern.¹¹

163. The Money Changer.—In connection with industry and commerce in international trade, the exchange of international credits and the payment of balances in specified commodities, as gold or silver bullion,

10. "The phase of civilization through which mankind is now passing opened in 1870. For many years previous to the German victory (Franco-Prussian War, 1870) a quickening of competition, caused by a steady acceleration of movement, had been undermining the equilibrium reached at the battle of Waterloo (1815). * * * Everywhere society tends to become organized in greater and denser masses, the more vigorous and economical mass destroying the less active and more wasteful."—Adams: *Economic Supremacy*, p. 26.

11. "The right of association must be free; the magnitude of association must correspond with the magnitude of the business to be done; business can no longer be localized; it cannot be confined by state lines; when the problem is to open and keep open the markets of the world, it is sheer madness to attempt to restrict the business as of that of a local manufacturer. * * * The law is possibly our best guide on this subject. It has progressed as experience and the necessities of business required, from the idea that all combinations were wrong to the idea that all persons should be left free to combine for all legitimate purposes. * * * In reviewing the history of the Standard combination, I expect to demonstrate that the necessities of the business demanded association on a large scale."—S. C. J. Dodd, Solicitor of the Standard Oil Trust. Quoted by Nettleton: *Trusts or Competition?* p. 195.

have made the international money-changer a factor of the first importance. His profits depend on the discounts, the exchanges and the gathering in of forfeited collaterals on loans made by him.

In any particular neighborhood the money-changer, by withholding credit, may bring ruin to the business of one neighbor, while by extending credit he may develop the business of another. He may lend for the very purpose of enlarging business and getting possession of collaterals on easy terms for the borrower. He may withdraw his loans for the very purpose of converting to his own use the collaterals which the same borrower has pledged for his "accommodations."

But trade has become international, and the international money-changer has the same grip on the nations of the earth that the old-time money-lord had for a long time upon his neighbors. In time of peace, the international money-changer can "send home securities"—that is, refuse credit to one country to its hurt, and extend credit to another country in a manner—for a time, at least—to greatly enlarge its business. He may thus work one country against another by turns, and all the time be the master of both. In time of war, he may recall old loans; grant or withhold new loans; dictate alliances, equip armies, and so control the conditions on which victory depends.

164. The New World Power.—Here, then, are four things new and startling in their significance, though all are but the culmination of a century of development. In fact, they are the outgrowth of all the centuries. They are: first, the international trust; second, the federation of all trusts; third, the presence of all flags on all seas; fourth, a single power both in the trusts and behind the flags in all lands and on all seas.

165. The Monopoly of the Earth.—The logical culmination will be many factories, but only one corpora-

tion of manufacturers; many flags, but only one government; in fact, the speedy coming to fullness of power of a single private syndicate which shall own and govern all; shall control the industry, commerce, courts and armies of all the earth.¹² And this is not to be the "Parliament of man, the federation of the world." It is to be the parliament of dollars, the federation of the despoilers of the earth.

166. The Surviving Factory.—When all the corporations engaged in any line of business combine into a trust to conduct all the business in any country, only those factories in all that country are continued in operation where materials are cheapest, transportation most advantageous and labor most helpless. Whenever the international trust comes into the fullness of its power, only those factories on all the earth will continue in operation where materials are cheapest, transportation most advantageous, and labor most helpless. As in the case of a national trust, if the workers in the vicinity of a closed factory will consent to go on with the work on the terms at which the most helpless workers in any other portion of the country will consent to be employed, then, the chances for materials and transportation being equal, the work may go on in that factory. So, also, in the case of the international trust, if the workers in any country where the standard of living and the wages of workers are high, if they too will consent to the terms under which the most helpless workers in all the earth consent to be employed, the chances for materials and transportation being equal, the work may go on in that country. Otherwise, the production of any particular article so involved will be transferred, and its production will remain

12. "I confess that I feel humiliated at the truth, which cannot be disguised, that though we live under the form of a Republic (the United States), we are, in fact, under the rule of a single man."—Judge Story, quoted in "Annals of Toil," p. 199.

transferred, to that place on all the earth where materials are cheapest, the open sea within easy reach, and the toilers most helpless.

167. International Strikes and Trusts.—Under such an organization, a successful strike in any single country would be impossible. The workers in the United States might refuse to work; but the shops in England Italy and China could take the work, and on the other side of the earth, beyond the reach of their industry to help, or of their rage to interfere; under the protection of all the armies of the earth; supported by all the battle-ships of all the seas, the wheels will turn, and what the market can take, the international trust can produce. With the international trust once in control of the production of any given article, a strike can never again win in any shop producing that article until the helpless workers of China, India, and of all “the isles of the sea” shall have been made good and reliable members of the unions involved. Nor could a strike in any country succeed, even then, unless an international organization of the unions could be made more effective in such a world encounter, without any armies on the land and without any battle-ships at sea, than the international trust could be made with all the armies of all lands and all the battle-ships of all the seas at its command. If these helpless workers are incapable of such an effective membership in the unions, or if such an international organization of the unions would be helpless, because defenseless, then, under the international trust, the strike is at an end in all such shops. Heretofore, the factory has imported the helpless worker to compete with the trades unionist on his own ground and at the doors of the shop where the unionist was himself employed. Under the international trust, the factory itself may be exported instead. If the Chinese coolie is forbidden access to this coun-

try, the international trust—protected by the international battle-ship—will take the factory to the Chinese coolie's own country.¹³

168. The Tariff, the Trust and the Shanghai Factory.—For a hundred years and more, American workers have largely supported a protective tariff in order not to be brought into competition with the pauper labor of other countries. Whatever may have been true of the past, under the international trust any possible advantage from the tariff to the American worker is at an end. It has been argued that freedom of trade would make necessary the payment in this country of the wages of the pauper labor of other countries, and to avoid this the products of the laborers of other countries, who worked in other countries, have been forbidden the American market except such payment be made as to balance the difference in wages. Whatever may have been true in the past, under the international trust the sum of the tariff on any given article will be promptly added to its price, and as the trust controls all the factories in that line in this country, American manufacturers will not compete to bring down the price at home. The tariff in such a case would add to the cost of living, but have no power to raise wages. This has been admitted, and the suggestion has been offered that whenever any article is made the subject of a trust organization it be put on the free list, and so open to the competition of the world. But under the international trust the same organization controls on

13. "The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draw all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i. e., to become bourgeois themselves. In a word, it creates a world after its own image." — Marx and Engels: *Communist Manifesto*, p. 19.

both sides of the national boundary line, and it will be a matter of utter indifference to the trust whether you buy from its factory in Chicago, in Manchester or in Shanghai. The trust will fix its price for the trade of all countries and it will continue to be done by the arbitrary act of the trust which alone can furnish the goods. If the workers in this country will work on the basis of the Chinese coolies, then the people of this country may, if they wish, buy from a factory in this country. If the workers of this country refuse to join the Chinese coolies, they may join the American tramps instead, and the goods will come from Shanghai just the same.

169. No Possible Competitor.—If it be said that exorbitant prices will mean large profits, and that new capital will be employed outside the international combination of all the trusts of all the countries, the answer is, that this international combination will control the money of the earth, not to mention transportation, on both land and sea, and all the other related lines of industry on which any new competing company must rely. This international combination will control all the shops in the trust; it will be able to destroy all shops not in the trust. It is self-evident that no new company, borrowing money from the trust or buying materials from the trust or shipping over lines owned by the trust, can live as a competitor with the trust.

170. Cornered at Last.—Notice, then, that with the completion of this combination the strike will be ineffective, the tariff without force, and a new competitor impossible; and notice further that within the limits of what is possible, under capitalism, no other method of escape from the monopoly and tyranny of trade is even thinkable, to say nothing of its effectiveness.

171. Imperialism.—And now as to the matter of imperialism and expansion, it is a matter of no con-

cern to the helpless workers anywhere how far our flag shall be carried if its presence shall mean what every other battle flag on earth now means, and that is the extension of this trust-ruled industrial and commercial world life.

172. Choosing a Flag to Starve Under.—What difference does it make to a toiler what flag he starves under or what flag it is which supports those international policies which make certain the universal and helpless enslavement of the human race? If our flag goes abroad on such an errand, it means no harm to the worker which cannot come to him under some other flag, if our flag does not go. To keep our flag at home lest it should do the wrong, does not prevent the doing of the wrong; to send it abroad consenting to the wrong as the only means by which it may be unfurled in new and distant lands, is to send it as a defender of this international commercialism, which is only a systematized form of international piracy, which is nothing else than the giving to the international capitalist the power of our flag to aid him in doing in other lands exactly the same thing which capitalism is doing at home.

173. Imperialism, Militarism, Expansion, Capitalism.—The imperialism of any or all the governments of the earth is a matter of no concern to the workers as long as the imperialism of international trade, mastered by an international trust, controlling all the industries of the earth, shall remain unchallenged. It is true that imperialism abroad does mean militarism at home. But it is also true that capitalism at home makes imperialism abroad absolutely inevitable. The international organization of industry and commerce which is so rapidly culminating in the one international trust, includes the industry and commerce of America. The market for American products is international. The battle-

ship must go wherever the merchantman has gone. As long as capitalism, producing for an international market, rules American industry, the battle-ship must go.

Expansion is simply capitalism looking for a foreign market.¹⁴ Imperialism is simply the power of the nation used to extend and protect that market.

174. Summary.—1. The use of the great machines made necessary ownership by the joint savings of many, employment of the joint labor of many and the great extension of the market, hence the coming of the manufacturing corporations.

2. Corporations competing for the same market were obliged to combine to avoid mutual destruction. It resulted in the combination of some companies and the ultimate destruction of all others selling the same goods in the same market,—this is the trust.

3. The extension of trade has created a world market. The organization of the trust, once undertaken, had to become as extensive as the market in which it sought to control the trade,—hence the international trust.

4. Every industry is intimately connected with many other industries which furnish the materials or the tools or the transportation involved in its own business. To control one line of production sometimes makes possible, and sometimes necessary, the control of other lines of trade,—hence the federation of the trusts.

5. The perfect equipment and large earnings of the trust make impossible the re-investment of its profits in the further development of its own business, because

14. "All the energetic races have been plunged into a contest for the possession of the only markets left open capable of absorbing surplus manufactures, since all are forced to encourage exports to maintain themselves."—Adams: *Economic Supremacy*, p. 29.

of the limitations of the market, and so compel the re-investment of the earnings of the trust in other lines of business, and thus bring new lines of business under the same control, and hence, again, the federation of the trusts.

6. The exigencies of foreign relations control the domestic policies of all countries. International trade controls all foreign relations. The international trust is rapidly becoming the master of all international trade. It is becoming the political as well as the industrial despot of the world.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. What made the creation of the manufacturing corporations necessary?
2. Why was the creation of the trust necessary? Can consolidation be prevented?
3. Why must the trust become a world trust?
4. Why has the federation of trusts taken place?
5. Are there any forces which can prevent the culmination of business organization in a single world trust?
6. Name some of the important things which such a world power, or single international trust, would be sure to control.
7. How would this affect the interests of those not in the trusts?
8. Would a successful strike then be possible? Why?
9. Could any action regarding the tariff in any way affect the interests of an international trust? Why?
10. Would the organization of new competing companies be possible after the completion of the one international trust? Why?
11. What is the cause at home of the policy of imperialism abroad?

CHAPTER XI

THE COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM

175. The Culmination.—Capitalism has a world-wide existence. All other forms of the organization of industry and commerce have been crowded out of existence. World-wide consolidation cannot be prevented. This culmination is inevitable. It is the purpose of this chapter to show that the final collapse of capitalism is as inevitable as is continued growth and final consolidation under capitalism.

176. Surplus Products.—Capitalism, under machine production, produces more goods than the capitalists can dispose of among themselves and their employes. The capitalists take all the goods from the market which they can use or are willing to waste. The workers take all the goods from the market which their wages will pay for.

It was recently stated, in the United States Senate, by Senator Hanna, that American production will have to be lessened at least one-third, or the foreign market must be held for American goods. This means that American workers are producing very largely in excess of what the American workers are able to buy,

over and above all that their employers can use or are willing to waste.¹

If the workers of this country are doing this, it is also true that the workers of all countries are doing the same. If the accuracy of Senator Hanna's figures be denied, it will not be denied that the workers of all countries are all the time producing largely in excess of all that the workers of all the countries are able to buy, over and above all that their employers can either use or waste.

177. The Foreign Market.—By means of the foreign market the attempt is made to dispose of this surplus, by the employers of different countries trying to sell to each other this surplus, which the workers could use, but cannot buy, and which the employers claim, but cannot use. To whatever extent the foreign market relieves the overstocked market of one country, it must at the same time increase the overstock or stop the industry of some other country which was before producing the same goods for the same market. If the great manufacturing countries are all of them producing thirty per cent more than the workers can buy with their wages,² and over and above what their employers can use or waste, this surplus cannot be long disposed of by international exchange, for however much this international exchange of goods, by exchanging the staple articles of one country for the luxuries of other countries, may add to what the capitalists may be willing to waste, it can in no way add to the purchasing power of the workers.

1. " * * * The upshot of the whole matter, therefore, is that America has been irresistibly impelled to produce a large industrial surplus—a surplus, should no change occur, which will be larger in a few years than anything ever before known. Upon the existence of this surplus hinges the future, for the United States must provide sure and adequate outlets for her products, or be in danger of gluts more dangerous to her society than many panics such as 1873 and 1893."—Adams: *American Economic Supremacy*, p. 32.

2. "But the capacity for extension, extensive and intensive, of

178. Losing the Market.—If there are increased sales for any one country, it is because it has captured the trade and closed the shops of some other country.³ And so the struggle for the foreign market, wherever

the markets is primarily governed by quite different laws, that work much less energetically. The extension of the markets cannot keep pace with the extension of production. The collision becomes inevitable, and as this cannot produce any real solution so long as it does not break in pieces the capitalist mode of production the collisions become periodic.”—Engels: *Socialism Utopian and Scientific*, pp. 63-64.

“And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.”—Marx and Engels: *Communist Manifesto*, pp. 21-22.

3. “‘A pound of home trade,’ it has been said, ‘is more significant to manufacturing industry than thirty shillings or two pounds of foreign.’ The comparison may not be exact, but it is on the right lines. Now, one of the most important branches of our home trade must be the supplying of agriculturists with manufactures in exchange for food. But when the purchasing power of this class of the community has sunk as much as £43,000,000 (more than \$206,000,000) per annum, it is obvious that such a loss of custom must seriously affect manufactures. Again, no small portion of our home market must consist in the purchases made by the working classes, yet it does not seem to occur to capitalist manufacturers that if they pay a large proportion of the industrial classes the lowest possible wages, and get them to work the longest possible hours while thus obtaining an ever-increasing production of goods, the question must sooner or later be answered: Who is going to consume the goods thus produced?

“The answer, as far as the capitalist is concerned, seems to be—foreign customers in new markets. English manufacturers and capitalists have consistently supported that policy which seemed likely to open up these new markets for their goods. For a considerable time, as we saw, they occupied themselves very wisely in obtaining cheap raw material by passing enactments actuated by Free-Trade principles, and removing protective restrictions. Cheap raw material having thus been gained, and machinery having now been developed to such an extent as to increase production quite incalculably, England sends her textile and other products all over the world. She seems to find it necessary to discover fresh markets every generation or so, in order that this vast output of commodities may be sold. The merchant and manufacturing classes have supported and still support this policy, from a desire, apparently, rather to find new customers than to keep the old; and largely for the sake of British trade, wars have been made on China, Egypt, and Burmah, while at the present moment England is scrambling with Germany, Portugal, and other powers for the new markets of Africa. Today, indeed, the industrial history of our country seems to have reached a point when production under a purely mercantile system is over-reaching itself. It must go on and on without ceasing, finding or fighting for an outlet for the

trade shall finally go, means destruction of industry for the losers in the conflict, and ultimate monopoly and world-mastery for the industrial victors.

179. Purchasing Power.—But this is not all. Each such victory helps to destroy the purchasing power in the world-market of those countries whose shops are closed, and hence makes smaller, at the same time it monopolizes, this market for the victors. Whenever the world-trust shall come into complete control of the world-market and continues to produce more than its workers can buy, where, then, will it dispose of this surplus which the capitalist claims, but cannot use, and which the worker has produced and needs, but cannot buy? If the remedy shall be to produce less, then more workers are displaced and there will be still fewer to buy, and hence, a larger surplus than ever.⁴ Then cap-

wealth produced, lest the whole gigantic system of international commerce should break down by the mere weight of its own immensity. Meanwhile English manufacturers are complaining of foreign competition in plaintive tones, a complaint which merely means that whereas they thought some years ago that they had a complete monopoly in supplying the requirements of the world, they are now perceiving that they have not a monopoly at all, but only a good start, while other nations are already catching them up in the modern race for wealth.”—Gibbins: *Industry in England*, pp. 468-70.

4. “Owing to the great capacity of modern machinery, the operatives employed by the investment of savings can only consume a very small proportion of their product. An outlet must be found either in the discovery of fresh markets in countries yet to be ‘developed’—a problem which involves serious questions of foreign politics—or in increased home consumption. Leaving the former of these out of account for the present, as it brings up international competition, and from the nature of things must gradually diminish in importance as a solution, we see that an increasing proportion of the national income must be spent in order to absorb the goods originating from savings. Here a limitation arises from the manner in which the annual income is divided. Out of a population of about forty million persons, some eighteen millions are ‘occupied,’ and of these it is estimated that thirteen millions constitute the manual labor class. They and their dependents, therefore, form the home market for the great bulk of the production of goods for consumption, and on their ability to increase their effective demand depends the utility of the increased productivity of industry. But they receive only £650,000,000 out of the national income of £1,700,000,000, or less than one-third, and the spending capacity of a very large proportion of them is much below what the average represents. Even those of them who are best off have but a very small margin for conventional luxuries after providing for the bare neces-

italism will be able to clear its shelves only by closing down its shops. Hence, the only final and logical outcome of the world-trust is to end the relief which may come to the industry of any one country by destroying the industry of some other country.

The world-market is already the one market of the world. The business of supplying that world-market is rapidly becoming the business of a single combination by the process of competition and the necessary consolidation resulting from the combination of some, and the destruction of others, of the competitors.

180. Commercial Suicide.—Whenever a part of the competitors are in a world-wide combination and have destroyed all other competitors, then the combination must proceed to destroy itself or abandon capitalism. For what can the handful of men, who may be in that final combination, do with thirty per cent. of all the products of all the earth, products which the employers cannot use; products which the workers cannot buy; and which cannot any longer be sold outside the trust-controlled territory, to the profit of those in the trust, and to the ruin of those not in the trust, because, at last, all the world will be within the grasp of the one international combination “and there are no other worlds to conquer?”

181. The Collapse.—Therefore, the culmination of capitalism will insure its collapse, because production under capitalism now depends on the foreign market to dispose of its surplus; and the foreign market can last only so long as the international competitors are engaged in the process of destroying each other. When

saries of life. This permanent maladjustment of purchasing and producing power necessarily produces an incalculable disorganization of industry, and profoundly increases the innate inability of the competitive system to balance supply and demand.”—Macrosty: Trusts and the State, p. 106.

that war is over, and foreign relief is no longer possible, then, as Senator Hanna correctly contends, under capitalism, there is no other alternative than to lessen production. And this process once entered upon, can find no stopping place short of the complete collapse of capitalism, which has itself evolved the process of its own destruction.

Again, the culmination of capitalism will be its collapse, because, when the one trust has bought the earth, it cannot any longer re-invest its earnings. The Rockefellers alone are buying up the world's productive property at the rate of two millions a week, but they are only one large stream. All the ten thousand industrial and commercial currents are flowing hourly into larger and larger streams and will at last come to the one great sea. The earnings of the trusts are going to buy the stocks of other corporations or the certificates or bonds of other trusts. The whole world's resources are being taxed to the uttermost to complete the purchase of the earth by a single syndicate.

182. The Bankrupt Trusts.—It is sometimes said that the trusts are overstocked and are bound to fail. Corporations have been overstocked, but no "crash," due to such causes, has taken us backward to the smaller enterprises, but always forward to the larger ones. Nothing could happen which would hasten the coming of the final trust more than a general financial crash among the trusts. At the present rate of consolidation, the day is not far off when a sufficient portion of the productive property of the world will be in the hands of a single combination to make that combination practically the master of the earth. With even ten per cent. of the annual product of all countries available for use in the purchase of the rest of productive properties of the earth, it will be a short road which will lead to

the end of this means of re-investment for the earnings of the trust.

183. Played to a Finish.—A handful of men cannot consume or waste one-third of the world's products. When they can neither use nor re-invest their profits, the uninvested profits must accumulate in the vaults in the same way that the unsold goods will accumulate in the store-houses. Having bought the earth, the end of the buying business, so far as productive property is concerned, will be at hand. Capitalism will have made the earth a single great machine for making profits, and then, because it will have already bought the earth, it will have no use for the larger share of the profits. In the game of trade, the most successful gamblers of them all will have won all the stakes; will have cleared the table of all its "counters" and its cash; will have ruined all competitors; will have "cinched" every chance; will have privately marked all the cards; will have "loaded all the dice;" there will be no one either able to bet or willing to take any further chances in this "braced game" of trade. So the game of capitalism will cease to be played, simply because it will have been played to a finish and the gamblers, for sheer lack of victims, "will adjourn for the night."⁵

184. Compulsory Idleness.—Again, the culmination of capitalism will be its collapse, because the world-trust cannot employ the workers of the world. When

5. "Capitalism does not, like feudalism, lead to under-production, and chokes in its own fat."—Kautsky: *The Social Revolution*, p. 89.

"In such a competition (America against France, Germany and Russia for the occupation and organization of interior China) success can only be won by surpassing the enemy in his own method, or in that concentration which reduces waste to a minimum. Such a concentration might, conceivably, be effected by the growth and amalgamation of the great trusts until they absorb the government, or it might be brought about by the central corporation, called the government, absorbing the trusts. In either event, the result would be approximately the same. The Eastern and Western continents would be competing for the most perfect system of state socialism."—Adams: *American Economic Supremacy*, pp. 52-53.

the final combination has its store-houses full of goods, which it cannot sell, and its vaults full of profits, which it cannot invest; and the workers of the world shall depend on this one trust for employment,—a trust which can neither re-invest its profits nor sell its goods—what then?

If capitalism is to remain, the best it can do is to limit production to the volume of goods which those in the combination can use or waste, and which will provide an existence for the workers employed in producing the goods. Under capitalism, any production beyond this will be aimless and useless, and such a limited production could employ only a small fraction of the workers of the world. What workers would be so employed? It has been seen in the preceding chapter that it would be the workers in those countries where raw materials are cheapest, access to the sea most direct and labor most helpless. That would mean that capitalism would last longest, farthest away from the greatest centers of the world's activity, for there raw materials cost most and labor is best organized. When the final trust comes it will collapse. It will collapse first where the workers are best organized and where society is most advanced. It will not need to collapse in all places in order to utterly collapse in most places. And the places of its earliest collapse will be in those countries where, when capitalism cannot any longer employ labor, labor will be best prepared to employ itself. But labor once perfectly equipped and self-employed anywhere will rapidly extend the new order of things everywhere.⁶

6. "The day of the capitalist has come, and he has made full use of it. To-morrow will be the day of the laborer, provided he has the strength and the wisdom to use his opportunities."—Gibbins: *Industry in England*, p. 471.

"For this is the close of an era; we have political freedom; next and right away is to come social enfranchisement."—Kidd: *Social Evolution*, pp. 245-46.

185. The Class War.—The evolution of capitalism, beginning with the creation of the economic class war, by the earliest form of capitalism, slavery, and the continuance of this class war under serfdom, and its full development and final struggle under modern capitalism, argues the collapse of capitalism with equal certainty. Through all the centuries of civilization, under the economic domination of capitalism, in its many forms, this bitter economic war has lasted on and on—barbarian against barbarian, the victor against the captive, the master against the slave, the lord against the serf, the employer against the employe,—or the warrior, victor, master, lord and employer against the warrior, captive, slave, serf and employe,—the one an ascending sequence of increasing power, the other a descending sequence of increasing servitude. Each succeeding relation has grown out of the preceding one as an economic evolution in the interest of the master class.

But tomorrow the masters will be few in number. They will largely own the earth, but they cannot use it. They cannot re-invest their earnings, they cannot sell their goods, they cannot employ the workers and they will not have the force to protect the titles which they have secured by force. The economic class war will end because the evolution of capitalism under the domination of the master class will have created a new class of masters, whose growing power capitalism cannot prevent, and whose strength no power on earth will be able to withstand, and whose welfare cannot be secured, unless capitalism shall cease to be. The economic enfranchisement of the working class means the disappearance of all other economic classes, and the collapse of that age-long capitalism, based on the appropriation by one class of the products of another class, will be inevitable and final.

186. Benevolent Feudalism.—It is sometimes admitted that the trend of things is distinctly as is here indicated, and then it is denied that the final collapse will come. A new feudalism, “a benevolent feudalism,” is to prevent all this. Not only has this been contended for, but there seem good reasons to believe that it has been definitely proposed and steps undertaken to realize that result.⁷

It is asked if great capitalists could form a world-wide combination to take charge of the governments, as well as the industries of the earth, and could so operate the governments that they could enforce such industrial activities as would provide for the personal comfort of all the workers, and thus, by making “the full dinner pail” always certain, could not, then, such a condition of dependence between the well-fed workers and their acknowledged masters be established that the masters would provide directly for all who would submit to their paternal care, all that could be carried in a “dinner pail” and starve or imprison all others, and then use or waste in private gardens, hunting grounds and personal services for the masters all the life values of all the people not required for the comfortable support of the workers themselves. The greatest strength of this suggestion is in the fact that in the culmination of capitalism the final group of surviving capitalists will be forced into a single combination. When they have made the last great bargain and have bargained for the world itself, that will surely include the governmental powers along with the rest. Then, why will not the surviving capitalists choose to use these powers of the state together with the world’s resources, which the final trust will control, in order to

7. W. T. Stead states that it was the dream of Cecil Rhodes to establish such an association of millionaires. He further claims that Mr. Rhodes had the approval of Mr. Carnegie and others for his proposals.

provide, at least, a comfortable existence for all, rather than consent to the universal collapse here pointed out?

187. Inner Circle Unable to Keep the Peace, Disguise Its Crimes or Defend Itself.—The reasons why this will not be done are many and conclusive.

First. It would mean that when the final trust comes the capitalist "leopards will change their spots" and cease to lie in wait to destroy each other. There is no reason to hold that they will not continue their strife which will make the final trust, within the final trust, an ever-lessening self-destroying "inner circle" inevitable, until all shall collapse together.⁸

Second. Under the final trust, the fact of exploitation will be so clear, the exploiters will be so few, their victims will be so many, that compromise on any terms will be impossible.⁹

Third. The workers could not be made content with a "full dinner pail." They have contended for that because they did not have it. Give it to them and make its possession secure and they will make a fight for

8. "Paradoxical as it may seem, the riches of a nation can be measured by the violence of the crises which they experience."—Clement Juglar, quoted in Burton's *Crises and Depressions*, p. 2.

"In spite of the splendor of isolated achievements in the construction of great businesses, there is some ground for saying that the lack of a well co-ordinated system of control makes industry resemble at present (1900) a mob rather than an army. Indeed, the headlong passion of the mob in which each stimulates the other, and because there is no plan things are overdone, resembles somewhat the stress of competition which when unrestrained ends in over-production."—Jones: *Economic Crises*, pp. 48-49.

9. "Bad kings and governors help us, if only they are bad enough."—Emerson: *Natural History of the Intellect*, p. 220.

"In the trusts, freedom of competition changes into its very opposite—into monopoly; and the production without any definite plan of capitalistic society capitulates to the production upon a definite plan of the invading socialistic society. Certainly this is so far still to the benefit and advantage of the capitalists. But in this case the exploitation is so palpable that it must break down. No nation will put up with production conducted by trusts, with so barefaced an exploitation of the community by a small band of dividend-mongers."—Engels: *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, p. 69.

"Man casts aside his worn-out tools, but he keeps all that he has won by means of them."—Lefevre: *Race and Language*, p. 63.

more, and now having full stomachs, will increase the fury of their demand as they are stronger to make demands.¹⁰

It should be remembered, when the great estates in ancient Rome attempted to improve the lot of their slaves so that more slaves could be gotten by birth, when conquest could provide no more, how quickly the effort to improve the slave destroyed slavery.

It should be remembered, when the English landlords found that too many serfs were taking advantage of their right to go, the landlords attempted to keep their serfs by improving the lot of the serf, how quickly serfdom ceased to exist. When capitalism shall once sincerely try to improve the lot of the workers, that will be the end of capitalism.

If the final trust keeps on its way of capitalistic production and exploitation, it must collapse. If the final trust tries to keep the peace and perpetuate itself by offering the workers half a loaf, they will proceed to demand and to take possession of the whole bakery itself. And, hence, again, the culmination of capitalism will be its own collapse.

188. Summary.—1. The culmination of capitalism will involve its collapse for the following reasons:

(a) Capitalism depends upon a foreign market in which to sell its surplus products. The culmination of capitalism will make all markets into a single world market and make an end of the foreign market.

(b) Capitalism depends for the investment of its profits upon larger and larger purchases of the world's

10. "The mere fact of satisfying wants or leaving them unsatisfied is one of the principal causes of their development, change in character, or complete suppression. Many wants, if regularly satisfied, tend to increase in strength. There are also many which, if left unsatisfied will diminish in intensity; and some will die out entirely. The desire for works of art is strengthened by the study of art. The desire for knowledge is increased by its acquisition."—Osborne: *Principles of Economics*, pp. 12-13.

productive property. The culmination of capitalism will come when the final trust shall have bought a controlling interest in the earth. The profits cannot then be re-invested, and the profit system must collapse.

(c) Capitalism can continue only so long as the workers shall continue to consent to its existence. The culmination of capitalism will make impossible any rational provision for the existence of the working class under capitalism. Without the consent of the working class, capitalism must collapse.

2. The creation of a benevolent feudalism as the culmination of capitalism will be impossible, and for the following reasons:

(a) Because the struggle for mastery among the masters will continue until all collapse.

(b) Because of the impossibility of longer concealing the infamous nature of capitalistic exploitation from the knowledge of those exploited.

(c) Because to grant satisfaction to the present desires of the workers will create new demands, with added power to enforce them, until they will have demanded and obtained all there is of the earth and its resources for all mankind.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. What is the principal reason why any one country cannot dispose of all of its staple products at home?

2. What must happen to the producers of other countries whenever a new country wins the trade of the world-market?

3. When a single combination shall own the industries of all countries, where, then, can a foreign market be found for the surplus products of any country?

4. When the world-trust has bought the world, where, then, will it make further investments of its earnings?

5. Will the world-trust be able to provide work for all?

6. Will the handful of private owners of the earth be able to protect their titles?

7. Why not a benevolent feudalism?

CHAPTER XII

A SUMMARY OF PART SECOND

189. 1. The early forms of capitalism began when slavery began.

2. Slavery was the result of the wars of the later days of barbarism.

3. Slavery was abandoned by the masters for serfdom when that was found to be the more profitable form of servile toil.

4. Serfdom was changed to the wage system by the masters; and the serfs who were evicted from the feudal estates became wage-workers in the rising factory towns.

5. The workers who remained in the country grew into self-employed workers, only to have their self-employment made impossible by the later developments of capitalism.

6. The era of invention came as the result of the self-employment in the free cities of Europe and on the American frontier.

7. The new machinery made joint ownership, joint labor and the larger market inevitable; and joint ownership grew into the corporation.

8. Competing corporations, both by the destruction of the weaker competitors and by the combina-

tion of the stronger ones, as the only means of escape from mutual destruction by competition, created the trust.

9. The trust found it necessary either to combine with, or to destroy, all competitors selling in the same market.

10. The market was made a world-market by manufacturers in all countries seeking to sell in other countries the surplus of their products,—that is, what they produced in excess of what the capitalists could use and what the wages of the workers could buy.

11. The trust becomes a world-trust striving to combine with, or to destroy, all competitors selling in the world-market.

12. The trust is unable to re-invest its earnings in its own business, and so must re-invest in other lines until all lines of business are brought within the control of a single trust.

13. The trust, becoming a world-trust, can then find no market foreign to its own territory, for then all territory will be trust territory, and hence must lose its foreign market for surplus products.

14. The trust, controlling all industries in all countries, cannot employ all labor, because its only market will be what the capitalists can use and what the wages of the workers can buy.

15. As this will leave unsold the surplus which the workers produce and cannot buy, a constantly and rapidly increasing portion of the workers must lose employment.

16. The culmination of capitalism is in the world-trust.

17. The surplus goods of the trust cannot then be sold, the profits of the trust cannot then be re-invested, and the workers of the world cannot then be employed.

18. The culmination of capitalism is its collapse.

PART III

THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIALISM

CHAPTER XIII

COLLECTIVISM, DEMOCRACY AND EQUALITY

190. Capitalism Not the Invention of Capitalists.—In the discussion of the origin and development of capitalism, the reader will notice that the discussion has been entirely devoted to the consideration of social and economic forces. Individuals have not been considered. It would be quite possible to give an account of the development of capitalism in which the names of famous inventors, discoverers, or captains of industry would be largely considered, but such a discussion would be very misleading, because it would leave the impression that these men had created capitalism and not that the social and economic forces, by the long and constant evolution which we have followed, have created the economic conditions which have made both capitalism and the capitalists.

191. Socialism Not the Invention of Socialists.—In the same way, any study of the origin and development of Socialism which gives attention to the consideration

of the persons who have discovered the truths or have formulated the statement of the truths which the Socialists teach, will mislead the student, and in spite of himself, leave with him the impression that Socialism is the invention or contrivance of some great mind, the child of some great genius, and that the student of Socialism is simply the student, not of social forces, but of the sayings and doings of distinguished Socialists.¹

192. Underlying Principles.—Socialism proposes Collective Ownership, Democratic Management and Equal Opportunity in the collectively used means of producing the means of life. The three great principles which underlie the Socialist proposals are: Collectivism, Democracy, and Equality. If we are to understand the origin and development of Socialism, we must find the beginnings and trace the growth of the social forces which are making certain the coming triumph of these principles as related to the whole life of man, but especially as related to the overthrow of the corresponding wrongs of monopoly, tyranny and inequality of opportunity. These wrongs have grown with the growth of capitalism, are the central features of capitalism and can disappear from the life of man only by the disappearance of capitalism.

193. Inherent in the Nature of Things.—Collectivism, Democracy and Equality are inherent in the natural and necessary relations of human existence. Wherever monopoly has overthrown Collectivism, wherever tyranny has succeeded Democracy, wherever inequality has usurped the place of Equality of Opportunity, it

1. There are a number of valuable works which deal largely with the biographies of distinguished Socialists, accounts of their activities in agitation and organization, and which will be of great interest to the student, among which are:

Liebknrecht: Karl Marx.

Morris Hillquit: History of Socialism in the United States.

Kirkup: A History of Socialism.

Ely: French and German Socialism in Modern Times.

Rae: Contemporary Socialism.

has always been with the result of the speedy degeneracy of the people involved, or else, the monopoly, tyranny and inequality have, by an evolutionary process, in the end, through a revolutionary consummation, re-established Collectivism, Democracy and Equality, usually on a firmer basis than before. This strife between Collectivism, Democracy and Equality, on the one hand, and monopoly, tyranny and inequality on the other, has been, and is, one of the most marked features of the struggle for existence.²

194. Collectivism in Simplest Forms of Life.—So

2. "Burying beetles bury in ground corpses of all kinds of small animals. When one of them finds a corpse which it can hardly manage to bury itself, it calls four, six, or ten other beetles to perform the operation with united efforts.

* * * * *

"Some land-crabs of the West Indies and North America combine in large swarms in order to travel to the sea and to deposit therein their spawn; and each such migration implies concert, co-operation and mutual support.

* * * * *

"If we take an ants' nest, we not only see that every description of work—rearing of progeny, foraging, building, rearing of aphides and so on—is performed according to the principles of voluntary mutual aid; we must also recognize, with Forel, that the chief, the fundamental feature of the life of many species of ants is the fact and the obligation for every ant of sharing its food, already swallowed and partly digested, with every member of the community which may apply for it.

* * * * *

"When a new swarm of bees is going to leave the hive in search of a new abode, a number of bees will make a preliminary exploration of the neighborhood, and if they discover a convenient dwelling-place—say, an old basket, or anything of the kind—they will take possession of it, and guard it, sometimes for a whole week, till the swarm comes to settle therein.

* * * * *

"The white-tailed eagles always assemble for devouring a corpse, and some of them (the younger ones first) always keep watch while the others are eating.

* * * * *

"But the fishing associations of the pelicans are certainly worthy of notice for the remarkable order and intelligence displayed by these clumsy birds. They always go fishing in numerous bands, and after having chosen an appropriate bay, they form a wide half-circle in face of the shore, and narrow it by paddling towards the shore, catching all fish that happen to be enclosed in the circle. On narrow rivers and canals they even divide into two parties, each of which draws upon a half-circle, and both paddle to meet each other, just as if two parties

soon as the forms of life had reached the stage where the segregation of new living cells which were to grow into new members of the species, involved the production of the egg and hence the propagation of new life involved sex relations,—so soon, in the development of the forms of life, only those forms could survive which

of men dragging two long nets should advance to capture all fish taken between the nets when both parties come to meet.

* * * * *

“Even eagles—even the powerful and terrible booted eagle, and the martial eagle, which is strong enough to carry away a hare or a young antelope in its claws—are compelled to abandon their prey to bands of those beggars, the kites, which give the eagle a regular chase as soon as they see it in possession of a good prey. The kites will also give chase to the swift fishing-hawk, and rob it of the fish it has captured; but no one ever saw the kites fighting together for the possession of the prey so stolen.

* * * * *

“Take, for instance, a band of white cacadoos in Australia. Before starting to plunder a corn-field they send out a reconnoitering party, which occupies the highest trees in the vicinity of the field, while other scouts perch upon the intermediate trees between the field and the forest and transmit the signals. If the report runs all right, a score of cacadoos will separate from the bulk of the band, take a flight in the air, and then fly towards the trees nearest to the field. They will also scrutinize the neighborhood for a long while, and only then will they give the signal for general advance, after which the whole band starts at once and plunders the field in no time.

* * * * *

“Life in societies is again the rule with the large family of horses, which includes the wild horses and donkeys of Asia, the zebras, the mustangs, the cimarones of the Pampas, and the half-wild horses of Mongolia and Siberia. They all live in numerous associations made up of many studs, each of which consists of a number of mares under the leadership of a male. These numberless inhabitants of the Old and the New World, badly organized on the whole for resisting both their numerous enemies and the adverse conditions of climate, would soon have disappeared from the surface of the earth were it not for their sociable spirit. When a beast of prey approaches them, several studs unite at once; they repulse the beast and sometimes chase it; and neither the wolf nor the bear, not even the lion, can capture a horse or even a zebra as long as they are not detached from the herd. When a drought is burning the grass in the prairies, they gather in herds of sometimes 10,000 individuals strong, and migrate. And when a snow-storm rages in the steppes, each stud keeps close, and repairs to a protected ravine. * * * Union is their chief arm in the struggle for life, and man is their chief enemy.

* * * * *

“Several species (of monkeys) display the greatest solicitude for their wounded, and do not abandon a wounded comrade during a retreat till they have ascertained that it is dead and that they are

learned to co-operate, because the production of the fertile egg is a co-operative process. It is not contended that all did co-operate; only, that those that did not co-operate could not extend their existence beyond a single generation.

195. In Care of Young.—When the forms of life had advanced and the improved form of life had greatly lengthened the period of the helplessness of the new born, then only those forms of life could survive which were able to extend the parental collectivism to co-operation with the new born in its struggle for existence. It is not contended that all did co-operate with the young, but it is evident that the neglected young could not survive, and hence, only those became the

helpless to restore it to life. * * * In some species several individuals will combine to overturn a stone in order to search for ants' eggs under it.

* * * * *

"As to beavers, which are endowed, as known, with a most sympathetic character, their astounding dams and villages, in which generations live and die, without knowing of any enemies but the otter and man, so wonderfully illustrate what mutual aid can achieve for the security of the species, the development of social habits and the evolution of intelligence, that they are familiar to all interested in animal life.

"Association is found in the animal world at all degrees of evolution; * * * colonies are the very origin of evolution in the animal kingdom. But, in proportion as we ascend the scale of evolution, we see association growing more and more conscious. It loses its purely physical character, it ceases to be simply instinctive, it becomes reasoned. With the higher vertebrates it is periodical, or is resorted to for the satisfaction of a given want—propagation of the species, migration, hunting or mutual defense. It even becomes occasional when birds associate against a robber, or mammals combine, under pressure of exceptional circumstances, to emigrate. In this last case, it becomes a voluntary deviation from habitual moods of life. The combination sometimes appears in two or more degrees—the family first, then the group, and finally the association of groups, habitually scattered, but uniting in case of need, as with the bisons and other ruminants. It also takes higher forms, guaranteeing more independence to the individual without depriving it of the benefits of social life. With most rodents the individual has its own dwelling, which it can retire to when it prefers being left alone; but the dwellings are laid out in villages and cities, so as to guarantee to all inhabitants the benefits and joys of social life."—Kropotkin: *Mutual Aid*, Chapters I, II.

seed plant for future survivals that did so co-operate with their young.³

196. In Primitive Groups.—When, in the early forms of primitive life, human beings began to act in groups for each other and against beasts of prey and other and hostile groups of men, then only those who learned to stand together, to co-operate within and for the groups, were able to survive.⁴ It is not contended that all the members of all the groups did so co-operate, but it is evident that those groups which did not co-operate would be utterly destroyed in the struggle for existence with the groups which did so co-operate, and would therefore cease to be factors in the perpetuation of the race, leaving this function to those who had learned the lesson of co-operation, of collectivism.⁵

197. In the Nations.—As the barbarian tribes grew into nations, it was those nations which were best able to create a solidarity of national interest, those whose citizens learned best to co-operate with each other, and against the whole world without, which were best able

3. "Observation of the most savage races agrees with the comparative study of the institutions of civilized peoples, in proving that the only bond of political union recognized among primitive men, or conceivable by them, was the physical fact of blood-relationship."—Fiske: *Destiny of Man*, pp. 78-79.

4. "Only by glancing back over this history in rapid review can we discover whether, on the whole, we are still the primitive egoists that Nietzsche would approve, or sympathetic, if not always close and believing, followers of Count Tolstoi.

"We must go back to that little group of blood kindred which was the earliest human community. A few brothers and sisters, recognizing their maternal kinship maintained a common lair or camp, struggled together against beast and nature, and together obtained food supplies. Within that little band the competition of the Darwinian struggle had, in a measure, ceased. Toward all life that lay beyond the circle, the rule was unrelenting war. Here, then, at the outset of human life, the two standards were already established, Helpfulness, compassion, forgiveness even, were right and expedient within the group. Remorseless enmity, cruelty, treachery, any expedient was right toward those men or groups against which the band must struggle for its own existence."—Giddings: *Democracy and Empire*, p. 354.

5. The instant society becomes organized in clans, natural selection can not let these clans die out,—the clan becomes the chief object

to survive.⁶ It was Collectivism within the nations which made them victorious over those less able to co-operate and so less able to survive. In the development of the modern nations, those most race-conscious, those most conscious of their class solidarity, those best able to co-operate, are the ones which have made themselves at last the joint masters of the world.

198. In Business.—The same is true of business enterprises. As capitalism has grown, its very monopolies have been developed by those best able to effect co-operative relations among themselves. This very monopoly, in its final evolution, will be destroyed as a monopoly, by the enlargement of its own Collectivism to include all mankind in the benefits of this Collectiv-

or care of natural selection, because if you destroy it you retrograde again, you lose all you have gained; consequently, those clans in which the primeval selfish instincts were so modified that their individual conduct would be subordinated to some extent to the needs of the clan,—those are the ones that would prevail in the struggle for life.”—Fiske: *A Century of Science*, p. 110.

“Deprive a pack of wolves of the tribal instinct that keeps them from rending each other, and place a single carcass before them, and their conduct may illustrate the economic system which would result from the unrestrained action of selfish motives among men.”—Clark: *Philosophy of Wealth*, p. 15.

It is interesting to note that Prof. Clark finds it necessary to deprive the wolves of “tribal instinct”—that is, of Collectivism—before he can safely use them to illustrate the consequences of the absence of Collectivism among men.

6. “The environment of each little tribe is (in early times) a congeries of neighboring hostile tribes; and the necessity of escaping captivity or death involves continual readiness for warfare, and the continual manifestation of the entire class of warlike unsocial passions; while, on the other hand, the tribe is so small and homogeneous that the opportunity for the exercise of sympathetic and social feelings is confined chiefly to the conjugal and parental relations. Nevertheless in the exercise of these feelings in these relations are contained the germs of all subsequent social progress. While without the limited sphere of the tribe all is hatred, revenge, and desire to domineer, within the limits of the tribe there is room for the rudimentary display of such feelings as loyalty, gratitude, equity, family affection, personal friendship and regard for the claims of others.”—Fiske: *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, Vol. II., p. 203.

“The rise of empires, this coalescence of small groups of men into larger and larger political aggregates, has been the chief work of civilization when looked at from its political side.”—Fiske: *Destiny of Man*, p. 85.

ism, now of a part of the people only, and which in its half-grown form monopolizes, for a few, the interests of all.⁷

Here is the general scientific truth, that in the struggle for existence throughout all forms of life, other things being equal, those forms of life are best able to survive among which Collectivism is most complete.⁸

199. Democracy.—The same is true of Democracy. It is inherent in the natural and necessary relations of human existence. It also is an important condition of survival in the struggle for existence. In the very

7. "But, it will be said, competition, as a natural law, divides advantages, and this division should be final. To this assertion we answer, yes and no. Natural law is not to be set aside, and cannot often be set aside; but natural law is always to be supplemented by the law of reason by well-directed human and humane endeavor. Reason is itself a higher natural law."—Bascom: *Sociology*, p. 229.

"We need no longer call in the Socialist to testify against the uncurbed struggle in industry. The last twenty years have taught the lesson so thoroughly to our foremost business men that they are becoming our instructors. Not alone with transportation, but with iron, with textiles, with insurance, with banking, and with many of the commonest products, the unrestrained scramble of private interests is now seen to be intolerable. Good business now sets the limit to competition by organizing co-operation. To check and control the excesses of competition has become the mark of first-class ability. A railroad president has been dismissed because 'he insists upon fighting other roads instead of working with them.' According to his own account, the head of another road owes his appointment to the fact that (in his own words) 'I was known to have some aptitude for working with rival interests'."—Brooks: *Social Unrest*, pp. 30-31.

8. "Man in the rudest state in which he now exists is the most dominant animal that has ever appeared on this earth. He has spread more widely than any other highly organized form, and all others have yielded before him. He manifestly owes this immense superiority to his intellectual faculties, to his social habits, which lead him to aid and defend his fellows, and to his corporeal structure."

"The small strength and speed of man, his want of natural weapons, etc., are more than counterbalanced, firstly, by his intellectual powers, through which he has formed for himself weapons, tools, etc., though still remaining in a barbaric state, and, secondly, by his social qualities, which lead him to give and receive aid from his fellow men."

"With those animals which were benefited by living in close association, the individuals which took the greatest pleasure in society would best escape various dangers; while those that cared least for their comrades, and lived solitary, would perish in greater numbers."—Darwin: *Descent of Man*, Chapters II., IV.

"That life in societies is the most powerful weapon in the struggle for life, taken in its widest sense, has been illustrated by several ex-

simplest forms of life, before sex relations had been evolved, when one simple cell created another, it was another cell which was created, full, complete, independent, fully equipped to become itself the creator of other cells. No other kind of cells could survive.

200. In an Organism.—When cells began to specialize so that finally one set of cells grew into an eye, and another into an arm, each set of cells grew into a real organ, with its own necessary functions, a real and liv-

amples on the foregoing pages, and could be illustrated by any amount of evidence, if further evidence were required. Life in societies enables the feeblest insects, the feeblest birds, and the feeblest mammals to resist, or to protect themselves from the most terrible birds and beasts of prey; it permits longevity; it enables the species to rear its progeny with the least waste of energy and to maintain its numbers albeit at a very slow birth-rate; it enables the gregarious animals to migrate in search of new abodes. Therefore, while fully admitting that force, swiftness, protective colors, cunningness, and endurance to hunger and cold, which are mentioned by Darwin and Wallace, are so many qualities making the individual, or the species, the fittest under certain circumstances, we maintain that under any circumstances sociability is the greatest advantage in the struggle for life. Those species which willingly or unwillingly abandon it are doomed to decay; while those animals which know best how to combine have the greatest chances of survival and of further evolution, although they may be inferior to others in each of the faculties enumerated by Darwin and Wallace, save the intellectual faculty. The highest vertebrates and especially mankind are the best proof of this assertion. As to the intellectual faculty, while every Darwinist will agree with Darwin that it is the most powerful arm in the struggle for life, and the most powerful factor of further evolution, he also will admit that intelligence is an eminently social faculty. Language, imitation and accumulated experience are so many elements of growing intelligence of which the unsociable animal is deprived. Therefore we find, at the top of each class of animals, the ants, the parrots, and the monkeys, all combining the greatest sociability with the highest development of intelligence. The fittest are thus the most sociable animals, and sociability appears as the chief factor of evolution, both directly by securing the well-being of the species while diminishing the waste of energy, and indirectly, by favoring the growth of intelligence.

"Moreover, it is evident that life in societies would be utterly impossible without corresponding development of social feelings, and, especially, of a certain collective sense of justice growing to become a habit. If every individual were constantly abusing its personal advantages without the others interfering in favor of the wronged, no society-life would be possible. And feelings of justice develop, more or less, with all gregarious animals. * * * Sociability thus puts a limit to physical struggle, and leaves room for the development of better moral feelings. * * * In short, neither the crushing powers of the centralized state nor the teachings of mutual

ing part of the living whole. When it lost these necessary relations to the whole, it did not survive; or at most remained only as a rudimentary survival.

201. In Reproduction.—When the functions of reproduction were specialized and Collectivism between parents could alone perpetuate the species, the individual was still preserved. Each new life was a real part of the real life of the species; that is, each new life must be fully equipped with its own complete organism, independent from all other life as an individual and able to co-operate with other individuals like itself, else it could not survive; that is, it could not be a link in the surviving chain.

202. Unanimous Agreement.—When Collectivism had produced the tribes, they were collections of individuals, not the full grown individuals of the future, but real individuals none the less. Each had his share

hatred and pitiless struggle which came, adorned with the attributes of science, from obliging philosophers and sociologists, could weed out the feeling of human solidarity deeply lodged in men's understanding and heart, because it has been nurtured by all preceding evolution. What was the outcome of evolution since its earliest stages cannot be overpowered by one of the aspects of that same evolution. And the need of mutual aid and support which had lately taken refuge in the narrow circle of the family, or the slum neighbors, in the village, or the secret union of workers, reasserts itself again, even in our modern society, and claims its rights to be, as it always has been, the chief leader towards further progress.

* * * In the animal world we have seen that the vast majority of species live in societies, and that they find in association the best arms for the struggle for life; understood, of course, in its wide Darwinian sense—not as a struggle for the sheer means of existence, but as a struggle against all natural conditions unfavorable to the species. The animal species, in which individual struggle has been reduced to its narrowest limits, and the practice of mutual aid has attained the greatest development, are invariably the most numerous, the most prosperous, and the most open for further progress. The mutual protection which is obtained in this case, the possibility of attaining old age and accumulating experience, the higher intellectual development, and the further growth of sociable habits, secure the maintenance of the species, its extension, and its further progressive evolution. The unsociable species, on the contrary, are doomed to decay.”—Kropotkin: *Mutual Aid—A Factor of Evolution*, pp. 30-31, 57**59, 292.

in the ruling of the tribe, as well as his share in its defense. In fact, for a thousand centuries the early groups were controlled by unanimous agreement, not even by a majority vote. The modern jury trial and its requirement of unanimous agreement is a barbarian survival still telling the story of both the fact and the form of the oldest Democracies.

203. Democratic Armies.—When the victorious tribes became the masters of the world and so established the nations of antiquity, they long retained their earlier Democracies at home. Their Collectivism finally perished when the Democracies within had been utterly destroyed. The soldier who knew he was fighting for his rations only has never been able to withstand the soldier who believed he was fighting for himself, or for a country whose interests he had been able to so identify with his own that he would give to the uttermost his life for its cause. The soldiers of the American Revolution and of the Second War with England and the Boers in the recent African War are illustrations of this truth. Napoleon's soldiers had been made unconquerable in their war for the liberty of France, before they became, under his command, the conquerors of Europe. In this connection it is a significant fact that as the nations of antiquity succeeded each other as world powers, the old and failing power was always the one farthest from barbarism, and hence farthest from primitive democratic Collectivism, while the conquering new power was always the one nearest to barbarism, and hence, preserved in its own life more of the primitive democratic Collectivism. It was said of Xenophon's army that any man of his famous Ten Thousand was qualified to take command. No wonder they could cut their way through the ranks of the countless Persian soldiers among whom long centuries of absolutism had destroyed self-possession, and

hence, the power of initiative and of self-direction. The vigorous democratic Collectivism of the ten thousand Greeks was too powerful for the helpless victims of the tyranny and monopoly of the despotic East. At Syracuse, two hundred years later, the relation was reversed. Monopoly, tyranny and inequality were then the heritage of the Greeks, the fruits of Alexandrian militarism. The victorious Romans were still the soldiers of the Republic—boasting that “To be a Roman was to be greater than a king.”

204. Collectivism and Democracy.—Collectivism without Democracy is not Socialism. Democracy without Collectivism is not Socialism. Democratic Collectivism is inherent in the nature of things. Both Collectivism and Democracy are fundamental factors in the construction of the proposals of the Socialists. There is no whole, composed of parts, which is able to stand in the struggle for existence unless the wholeness of each part is complete in its place and in the performance of its own special functions.

This, then, is the general scientific truth, that, in the struggle for existence, other things being equal, that Collectivism is most effective within which Democracy is most complete.

205. Equality.—The same is true of Equality. It too is inherent in the nature of things. In no complex organism are all the organs alike. In all such organisms, each organ is equally a part of the whole, and no one of them may say to another, “I have no need of thee.” All are essential, all are fed by the same processes, all perform some certain task, or when any one shall fail in this, or new conditions no longer need its service, then the useless organ is ruthlessly eliminated. Only in the social organism and under a violation of natural and necessary relations of healthful

existence is an essential organ starved and a parasite fed at its expense.

206. Primitive Equality.—Equality was as much a share of the primitive life of the race as was Collectivism or Democracy. There were no disfranchised clansmen. There were no three votes for men with feathers in their hair, and only one or none at all for others “born in the same house.” The primitive Democracy, which required the approval of all before any should act, in any matter which was the concern of all, was the recognition of the equality of the clansmen beyond all question. The modern jury, which is a survival of the ancient barbarian group, settling matters of dispute among them, requires still the approval—not the consent only—of all and of all alike. Here is Collectivism, Democracy and Equality; and here, again, is the general scientific truth, that, in the struggle for existence, other things being equal, that democratic Collectivism is most likely to survive within which the equality of every essential part of the organism is most complete.⁹

207. The Just Powers of Government.—“All governments derive their just powers,” not from the conquest of those who are governed by those who govern, nor from the “consent of the governed,” obtained in any way whatsoever, by those who govern. “All governments derive their just powers” from the equal participation in the constant administration of the common interests of all, by all those whose interests are so administered. Whatever is more than this is the usur-

9. “The use of intelligence for the private manipulation of social agencies does actually represent a level of social institutional life; and in certain great departments of human intercourse—as especially the commercial—relatively selfish ends, as seen in personal competitions of wits, seem to be the highest society has yet attained. But as with individual growth, so here. As soon as the personal use of the individual’s wit brings him into conflict with either of

pation of power and the practice of tyranny. Whatever is less than this is, to that extent, the failure of the organism "to function" as an organism.

208. The Concern of All.—Collectivism, Democracy and Equality, these principles take their roots in the animal kingdom, in the simplest forms of life. They are older than the race. No perfect social life is possible without them. It will be interesting to follow the story of the struggle for existence and notice how these principles in social life have grown in power and how the economic and social forces are making them the coming final, lasting masters of all life, and so finally to displace, for all time, the monopoly, tyranny and inequality of capitalism, while they will enfranchise for all time all of the people in all matters which are the concern of all.

209. Summary.—1. Collectivism, Democracy and Equality are the principles which underlie the proposals of the Socialists.

2. To study the origin and development of these

the two necessary movements by which society gradually grows—or with the institutions which represent them—so soon must the individual be restrained. And, further, the restraint is no more an artificial thing, an external thing in society, than it is in the individual."—Professor Baldwin: *Social and Ethical Interpretations*, pp. 542-43.

"Human society is rapidly moving toward a state of equality very similar in all essentials to that which is advocated by Socialist philosophers as the ideal of a genuinely Christian life. The forces drawing the human race to this remarkable end are the very same forces by which human history has been thus far wrought out. They are the same forces described by Darwin in his law of natural selection.

"Accompanying this drift to economical equality will be found several facts of the highest importance in the social evolution of man.

"The brain of civilized woman is increasing in weight. Her intellect is rapidly developing a new and extraordinary capacity, and the ultimate end of this progress in woman will be a social state in which men and women will be intellectually equal, or nearly so.

"The human population of the earth is moving with accelerating force toward a mean, or normal, number which, when once reached, can never again be disturbed."—Lane: *The Level of Social Motion*, Preface VI.

principles in the world's life is to study the evolution of Socialism.

3. Collectivism exists in the simplest forms of life, and is the essential thing, in the struggle for existence, in all forms of organization. The families, the tribes, the nations and all business organizations are necessarily collective.

4. Democracy exists in the simplest forms of life. It was the most striking characteristic of primitive society.

5. Democracy within any Collectivism is essential to the collective strength.

6. Equality as the basis of the Democracy within any Collectivism is equally essential to the collective strength.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Why are not the individual capitalists considered in the study of capitalism?

2. Why are not the individual Socialists considered in the study of Socialism?

3. What are the principles which underlie the proposals of the Socialists?

4. Trace Collectivism in the simplest forms of life. In primitive life. In the nations. In business.

5. Trace Democracy in the same way.

6. Trace Equality in the same way.

7. What is the general scientific truth concerning Collectivism as related to the struggle for existence?

8. What is the general scientific truth concerning Democracy as related to the struggle for existence?

9. What is the general scientific truth concerning equality as related to the struggle for existence?

CHAPTER XIV

COLLECTIVISM, DEMOCRACY AND EQUALITY (CONTINUED)

213. Things in Common.—It is said that nowhere in the world, nor at any time in history, have men been found entirely separated from each other and in no way depending on any kind or degree of Collectivism as a factor in the struggle for existence.

Among savages, we find the early groups, with the common fire, the common camp, the common fishing and hunting grounds, and the common defense, all administered by common voice of all and all clansmen having equal responsibility, each for his share as a worker or as a defender, and each enjoying his equal rights in the common benefits of all enterprises carried on in common,—these things were characteristic of all savages, of all races and in all lands.

214. Village Communities.—Under barbarism these same common interests and equal voice in the control of common interests survived. At the time of the passage from barbarism to civilization, the village community had everywhere appeared.¹ In these village communities the common land, the common herds,

1. Kropotkin: *Mutual Aid*, pp. 120-135.

the common pasturage, the village stores, the long houses, democratic control and equal opportunity were all, and invariably, characteristics of that stage of advance of the growing life of all races and in all lands.

215. Slave Associations.—When barbarian wars made slaves of the captured tribes and the victorious tribes grew into despotic military organizations, the slaves perpetuated their Collectivism, Democracy and Equality so far as secret, voluntary associations among slaves could accomplish that result.

216. Ancient Trades Unions.—When militarism within the victorious tribes began to crowd the original holders from their small primitive allotments of land and they became free laborers, the old barbarian Collectivism, Democracy and Equality created the ancient labor unions, which C. Osborne Ward has so carefully studied and has found to have existed in all the ancient countries, and which cared for the sick, buried their dead, and defended, by common action, both in great strikes, and finally in the Roman elections, their interests as workingmen. He contends that Jesus was a member and the chief official of a labor union; Luke, the chief official of an international organization of physicians; and that when the disciples of Jesus were directed to go out in twos and to “take neither coat nor script,” they were observing the universal custom of the old “walking delegates” and organizers—called “evangelists”—who always depended on the local unions of the workers for their entertainment,² and further, that the relief secured by Paul from the brothers in Asia for the help of the brothers in Jerusalem was in the regular order of the mutual aid practiced among those ancient labor organizations.

217. The Early Church.—These ancient slave asso-

2. C. Osborne Ward: *Ancient Lowly*, Vol. II, Chapter IX

ciations and these ancient labor unions had no small share in hastening the early triumphs of the Christian religion, which found, through its championship of the welfare of the poor and through these world-wide secret organizations, the opportunity for its own secret propaganda. By means of these organizations, Collectivism, Democracy and Equality were struggling for existence in the face of monopoly, tyranny and inequality of opportunity which militarism had made the masters of the ancient world.

218. The Free Cities.—When the military power of Rome no longer held together and protected the network of cities which made up the Roman world, and these cities attempted their own reorganization, support and defense, and grew into the free cities of Southern Europe, Collectivism, Democracy and Equality immediately reappeared among them. When the barbarian village communities of Northern Europe, which were able to resist the destructive militarism, which built the institutions of feudalism on the ruins of most such villages, and so were able to preserve their liberty, and to grow into the industrial, self-supporting and self-defending free cities of Northern Europe, here, again, Collectivism, Democracy and Equality, inherited directly from barbarism in the North, and inherited indirectly through the ancient slave associations and trade unions in the South, created the mediaeval guilds.

The members of these guilds worshiped and feasted together. They built and defended their cities together. They cared for their sick, buried their dead, taught trades to their young; cared for the aged, the orphaned and the widowed. They improved and perfected the trades. They built the cathedrals. They established commerce. But, when the collapse of feudalism filled their streets with the runaway or the evicted serfs they

denied to the serfs the equality of opportunity which they had achieved for themselves; they excluded them from the privileges of their democratic Collectivism and so built in their midst a hateful class war,—the necessary result of the monopoly, tyranny and inequality which the new conditions had brought upon them,—and so laid with their own hands the foundations of the rebellious forces, which, intriguing with the royal authorities, helped in the final overthrow of their municipal greatness.

219. Fraternal Societies.—The fraternal societies are survivals of these ancient industrial Democracies. Free Masons were once real masons, without being either serfs or slaves. Once the apron and the trowel, the compass and the square were not ceremonial affairs with this ancient organization. The duties of the Grand Master were not social only, nor were the functions of the order mainly a matter of entertainment.³ It was a secret organization because all industrial organizations were forbidden and it had to be secret or not at all. Through all these fraternities run the ideas of Collectivism, of common interests, of common responsibilities, of common benefits, together with democratic management and equal rights for all the members of these brotherhoods. So far as they have fallen, in modern times, under the control of royalists and have become the instruments of oppression, they are illustrations of the capture by the exploiters of the organizations created by the laborers, and because so captured by the exploiters, used to oppress the very class whose collective efforts, because of collective interests, made their existence possible. The very name fraternity is from the ancient barbarian “phratry”—a combination of gentes effecting a wider brotherhood than the earlier gens and preceding, as well as lead-

3. C. Osborne Ward: *Ancient Lowly*, Vol. I, p. 124.

ing to, the organization of the tribes under barbarism. That the oldest fraternities are very old may well be granted. There is equal reason to hold that they are direct barbarian survivals, having existed in some form, and striving as best they could to preserve the Collectivism, Democracy and Equality of barbarism, through the long centuries of monopoly, tyranny and inequality of capitalistic civilization.

220. Modern Labor Unions.—The same is true of modern labor unions.

When the evicted and runaway serfs became so numerous in the rising factory towns and competed so desperately against each other for the opportunity to be employed, that the ownership of working people, or the feudal settlement of workers in any particular place was abandoned because unprofitable, then these working wage-slaves,—slaves without either the masters or the rations which slavery provided,—attempted, by organization, to provide for themselves, and then, immediately, Collectivism, Democracy and Equality reappeared in these efforts to organize the workers. The organizations were forbidden. To organize the workers was held to be treason to the state. The early unions were secret, not because they wished to be, but because they could exist in no other way. For four centuries they fought for the right to be. What they were fighting for was Collectivism, Democracy and Equality within their organizations. Whatever victories they have won have been victories for these principles. When they have monopolized a trade or excluded a worker, it has not been for the sake of the monopoly, but because they have been unable to bring all the workers to the wider and wiser view. In the nature of the case it was Collectivism, Democracy and Equality for those willing to join in the struggle, or for none at all.

221. Working Class Solidarity.—As the growth of industry has advanced; as the sharp lines of the trades have been broken down through the introduction of machinery; as the importance and power of the unskilled workers have grown, the labor unions are daily recognizing more and more that the deliverance must be for all workers, or for none at all. The efforts of all the unions to develop the solidarity of the working class; the contention of the Socialists that the class-conscious worker only will be able to fight effectively the battles of the working class are not suggestions contrary to the inherent, natural and necessary relations of the workers to each other and to the future of the whole race. They are simply true and instinctive expressions of relations which it is as impossible to conceive of as not existing, under capitalism, as it is to think of a square circle or a four-cornered triangle.

222. Monopoly.—Capitalism is the Collectivism of a part to monopolize the just inheritance of all.⁴ There is no possible way by which this monopoly can be destroyed except the Collectivism of all be made to take the place of the Collectivism of a part. This is not true because any one has said it is true. This is true because it is true, because, if some part is not to control, then the whole must. New mathematical relations must be put into the nature of things or this must be true and remain true.⁵

4. "Before economic competition had divided men into classes according to their financial capacity, all craftsmen possessed capital as all agriculturists held land. The guild established the craftsman's social status; as a member of a trade corporation he was governed by regulations fixing the number of hands he might employ, the amount of goods he might produce, and the quality of his workmanship; on the other hand the guild regulated the market, and insured a demand. Tradesmen, perhaps, did not easily grow rich, but they as seldom became poor.

"With centralization, life changed. Competition sifted the strong from the weak; the former waxed wealthy, and hired hands at wages, the latter lost all but the ability to labor; and when the corporate body of producers had thus disintegrated, nothing stood between the common property and the men who controlled the engine of the law."—Adams: *Law of Civilization and Decay*, pp. 259-60.

5. "The persistence of Trade Unionism, and its growing power

223. The Whole Is Greater Than Any of Its Parts.—

Industrial change must be to dethrone one part in order to enthrone another part, or it must be to dethrone no part, but instead to enthrone all parts, and hence the whole. Every departure from monopoly must be towards Collectivism. Every departure from tyranny must be towards Democracy. Every departure from inequality must be toward Equality, or the reverse.⁶ Every departure from Collectivism, Democracy and Equality must be towards monopoly, tyranny and inequality. The great principles which underlie the proposals of the Socialists are Collectivism, Democracy and Equality. These principles were not invented. They are not ingenious schemes suggested by some

in the state, indicates, to begin with, that the very conception of democracy will have to be widened, so as to include economic as well as political relations. The framers of the United States constitution, like the various parties in the French Revolution of 1789, saw no resemblance or analogy between the personal power which they drove from the castle, the altar, and the throne, and that which they left unchecked in the farm, the factory, and the mine. Even at the present day, after a century of revolution, the great mass of middle and upper-class 'Liberals' all over the world see no more inconsistency between democracy and unrestrained capitalist enterprise than Washington or Jefferson did between democracy and slaveholding. The 'dim inarticulate multitude' of manual-working wage-earners have, from the outset, felt their way to a different view. To them, the uncontrolled power wielded by the owners of production, able to withhold from the manual-worker all chance of subsistence unless he accepted their terms, meant a far more genuine loss of liberty and a far keener sense of the personal subjection than the official jurisdiction of the magistrate or the far-off, impalpable rule of the king. The captains of industry, like the kings of gore, are honestly unable to understand why their personal power should be interfered with, and kings and captains alike have never found any difficulty in demonstrating that its maintenance was indispensable to society. Against this autocracy in industry the manual-workers have, during the century, increasingly made good their protest."—Webb: *Industrial Democracy*, Vol. II, pp. 840-41.

6. "Wealth owes its advantages in production largely to forecast, combination and tacit concert. Nothing can be more unreasonable than to resent the same tendency in the working classes, and that because it takes them, as mere waifs, out of the stream of traffic. These combinations (of labor) are not to be judged by their earlier efforts, or by their mistakes alone, but by their direction of growth and the spirit called out by them. It is one of the highest achievements of our time that workmen are learning to think, combine, resist, aid."—Bascom: *Sociology*, p. 230.

dreamer of dreams. They are simply the conditions of healthful, normal, progressive existence inherent in the unavoidable relations of human life. These principles cannot prevail in the whole life of man while monopoly, tyranny and inequality of opportunity remain in the workshop and in the market place.

224.—Sanitary Conditions.—The fight for Socialism is simply a fight for sanitary social conditions.⁷ The fight for capitalism is a fight for unsanitary social conditions,—conditions which mean death to the simplest organisms, conditions which, should they supplant Collectivism in nature, all life must cease; conditions which, had they prevailed in primitive society, the early man must have fallen the helpless prey of beasts too fierce for his single-handed resistance; conditions which, had they prevailed among barbarians, the tribes and nations never could have been; conditions which, whenever they have prevailed, have enslaved the many and made degenerates of the few.⁸ Capitalism is a temporary departure from a general condition of sanitary social life, with the final result that in its culmination, sanitary conditions may be re-established in

7. "The individual will always make himself felt. This corresponds probably to reality, for with social self-consciousness, not only does environment modify society, but society modifies environment with a set purpose in view."—Mayo-Smith: *Statistics and Sociology*, p. 382.

8. "It is beyond question that the progress of mankind does depend upon the progressive conformity of the order of their conceptions to the order of phenomena; but after the inquiry contained in the preceding chapter I believe no further proof is necessary to convince us that the progress of mankind also depends upon the conformity of their desires to the requirements arising from their aggregation in communities. If civilization is a process of intellectual adaptation, it is also a process of moral adaptation; and the latter I believe to be the more fundamental of the two. The case is well stated by Mr. Spencer in the following passage: 'Ideas do not govern the world; the world is governed by feelings, to which ideas serve only as guides. The social mechanism does not rest finally upon opinions; but almost wholly upon character. * * * All social phenomena are produced by the totality of human emotions and beliefs; of which the emotions are mainly pre-determined, while the beliefs are mainly post-determined. Men's desires

a wider field than ever before,—either that, or capitalism is a social disorder, a baneful disease, a loathsome contagion, slaying its millions but rendering no service in the long progress of the race. In either case, if it is a disease, it has run its course; a return to normal conditions means the coming of Socialism; if it is a temporary departure with the result of ultimately creating conditions wherein Collectivism, Democracy and Equality will come again and more fully than ever before, then it has accomplished its mission and should now give place in order that its own harvest may be gathered.⁹

225. Conclusions.—In seeking the origin of Socialism, the fundamental principles, Collectivism, Democracy and Equality, which underlie the Socialist proposals, are found to be inherent in the life of man. They condition his healthful existence. They equip him for the struggle for existence. They are infinitely older than the monopoly, tyranny and inequality of capitalism. These principles once obeyed will establish correct sanitary social conditions.

226. Summary.—1. Collectivism, Democracy and Equality are found to have existed among the barbarian tribes.

2. They survived through voluntary associations among the slaves after they had been abandoned by the masters.

are chiefly inherited but their beliefs are chiefly acquired, and depend upon surrounding conditions; and the most important surrounding conditions depend upon the social state which the prevalent desires have produced. The social state at any time existing is the resultant of all the ambitions, self-interest, fears, reverences, indignations, sympathies, etc., of ancestral citizens and existing citizens.”—Fiske: *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 242.

9. “Even if we regard the socialistic views as erroneous and demoralizing, the fact remains that they are held to a greater or less extent by a large number of people—perhaps a majority of the voters in the U. S.”—President Hadley (Yale): *Education of an American Citizen*, p. 58.

3. They characterized the ancient trades unions.
4. They were characteristic of the early Christian church.
5. They were features of the early forms of the free cities of Europe, coming either directly from barbarism in the North or indirectly through the associations of the slaves in the South.
6. The oldest fraternal societies are survivals of old industrial Democracies.
7. Modern trades unions are striving to establish the same ideals.
8. The war of monopoly, tyranny and inequality against Collectivism, Democracy and Equality, is the war between capitalism and Socialism.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Carefully identify and discuss Collectivism, Democracy and Equality in all of the following:—
 - (1) Savage and barbarian groups.
 - (2) The village communities.
 - (3) The ancient slave association.
 - (4) The early Christian church.
 - (5) The free cities.
 - (6) The guilds.
 - (7) Fraternal societies.
 - (8) Modern trades unions.
2. Can individuals deliver themselves from the conditions of the working class?
3. Why are monopoly, tyranny and inequality unsanitary social conditions?
4. Whence the origin of Socialism?

CHAPTER XV

COLLECTIVISM IN THE OWNERSHIP OF THE EARTH

227. Belongs to Man.—It is admitted that the earth belongs to man. No other animal is able to dispute his claim. But most men live and die with no legal claim to the earth or to any share of it. Does the earth belong to all men or to only a part of them? Does Collectivism or monopoly justly claim the right to rule in the matter of the ownership of the earth?

228. Belongs to All Men.—There is no possible theory of the earth's origin which does not argue for Collectivism and against monopoly, in favor of ownership by all and not by any part.

229. The Biblical Authority.—If it is claimed that the Biblical story of creation is a literal, detailed statement of the earth's origin, then those who hold to this view are bound to admit the force of the declarations of the same authority concerning the use of the earth. God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth."—(Gen. 1:26). Only man was exempt from the dominion of men.

All men were to have dominion alike, for "There is no respect of persons with God."—(2 Chr. 19:7; Rom. 2:11; Eph. 6:9; Col. 3:25). And lest any should become the masters of others He declared "The land shall not be sold forever."—(Lev. 25:23). And when His chosen people had ignored these principles and poverty and oppression had followed, He said again: "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell alone (without land) in the midst of the land."—Is. 5:8).

These passages settle forever for those who hold to these authorities the question of ownership in favor of all the people.

230. The Scientific Defense.—If it is claimed that the earth is simply the product of natural forces, that is, that it is the result of the operation of forces still seen to be in operation, and that all questions of one's claims to the earth must be settled as the result of conclusions drawn from a study of the operation of these natural forces, then it is equally impossible to find any support for private monopoly in the ownership of what nature has so clearly provided for all.

231. The Monopolist and Nature.—In order to understand how utterly absurd the monopolist of natural resources must appear in contending for his claims, as inherent in the nature of things, listen to the story of the earth's origin as told according to what is called the nebular hypothesis.

232.—The Beginning.—If you will look up into the sky on any clear night you will see scattered along the path of the Milky Way vast spaces of what would seem to be fields of shining dust. That is what they are believed to be. Now the tendency of all bodies, no matter how great or small, is to fall together. If you will fill the washbowl in the bathroom and then pull

the plug, or if you will take a pan full of water and punch a hole through the center of the bottom, you will notice, as the water starts toward the center of the bowl or pan that very soon, instead of running straight to the point, it starts to run around it. Why it does this need not be considered here any more than why it should start in the first place. We observe that things always fall toward each other and we call it gravity, but we do not understand it any better after we have given it a name than we did before. When a comet starts to fall towards the sun, instead of falling straight to it, the comet falls around it and goes on its way unharmed. It is probably something of the same sort that happens in the pan or the washbowl, and this is the habit of falling bodies.¹

233. The Forming of the Planets.—These great fields of star dust are no exception to all the rest and they are no sooner formed than the small particles take to falling towards each other and so towards a common center. As they fall towards and around each other, great bodies are formed, and great heat is created by the blows they give each other. They fall both around each other and towards a common center. Masses form and crash into each other and form again, and while the center becomes a great molten mass, the most distant portions not only move around the center, but, coming up from what would constitute the poles of these vast, moving masses, they form into great rings and go on revolving as before. The rings of Saturn are an illustration of this stage of development. The rings once formed, being more massive in one place than in some other, form a lateral attraction so strong that the falling begins to follow the curved line of the ring's circumference until the ring grows into a ball.

1. Shaler: *Outlines of the Earth's History*, pp. 33-34.

As the ring was revolving around the center, so the ball continues to do so. In this way the earth's motion around the sun is explained. As the substance which composed the ball on falling towards its own center would fall around it, as it was falling into it, on becoming a ball, would continue to revolve, as the earth does on its own axis. As the substance of such a ball would come towards its own center, the rings would be formed, and these, finally, would come to be balls and go on revolving as the rings had done. The moon was so formed.

234. The Making of the Earth's Surface.—The heat evolved by such a movement of worlds is beyond calculation. Once at its height the creation of new heat ceases. Radiation continues and the whole system begins to cool off. As the planet cools, through the passage of the centuries, water, which before had existed as gases, finally appears, and then the fire and water fight for the mastery and the cooling goes on more rapidly. The molten mass is now cooling into fire-fused rocks which form the foundation of the earth. The water, and finally the frost, join hands to break and grind the surface of these rocks. The storms and the seas wash the smaller particles away to deposit them elsewhere, and through the centuries they become the water-laid rocks of geologic time. As the surface cools, the interior remains a molten mass. As the interior cools further and further from the surface, the interior must contract in bulk, leaving great earth crusts of unsupported surface. This surface, bearing the burden of half a world, must contract in order to find support. In doing so the surface sinks at one place, but must rise at some other, and so the mountains are lifted up and the building of the continents begins.²

Forms of life appear; vegetation, rank and boundless, provides the substance for the coal fields, and

2. Shaler: p. 90.

then the continents shift, the water overflows and sifts again the slow deposits of the rocks above the fields so overgrown, and under the pressure of the rocks and the slow lapse of centuries, the coal is formed.³ Great oceans of living forms, rich with oil, are caught and cornered in the world's convulsions, and the oil is stored away for the long centuries yet to follow.⁴

The water and the frosts are reinforced by great fields of ice in the grinding of the rocks and in the making of the soils. The earth is shaken by interior convulsions or the whole solar system sweeps into new fields and falls under the influence of the gravity of new stars and the climate changes. The ice retreats and the fields, made mellow by the grinding process are invaded by a thousand forms of life. The soil is covered with vegetation, the earth worms and their less effective helpers mix and turn the soil and mingle it with the decaying vegetation and so subdue it for a higher use.⁵

235. The Beginning and the Ending.—At last the forms of life develop into the forms of man. Through the slow movements of a thousand centuries society is created. Civilizations come and go. The earth grows old. Hourly it is losing the heat within itself. Hourly the sun supplies it less. In the long movements of the ages it loses its heat. It seems to have lost its life and at last completes its circular journey to the sun. The sun grows cold and old, and it dies also. It loses its power to hold its place in the heavens, and, like a meteor, falls headlong through the universe. This and some other system of worn-out worlds crash into each other, and by the stroke both are reduced into star dust, to start once more on the endless round of the world's birth, growth, death, and resurrection.⁶ Un-

3. Thorpe: *Coal, its History and Its Uses*, pp. 1-70.

4. Dana: *Manual of Geology*, p. 608.

5. Darwin: *Earthworms*.

6. Shaler: p. 42.

der this or any other theory of the earth's origin ever advanced in the name of science, these movements are so vast, the time so approaching to eternity, the grip of things so infinite, that to contend that there is any inherent intention on the part of nature that some favorites among men, or some special generation of men, and not all men of all generations, should be the beneficiaries of all this, is the highest of egotistic absurdity.

236. Not a Question of Intentions.—If it be said that to assume that nature has any intentions, either for the few or for the many, is equally absurd, then the answer is that the absurdity complained of is the assumption that we may study in nature some force unknown to nature, and that this force, unknown in nature, is nevertheless operating through nature, and has intentions beyond nature or in contradiction to the plainly visible operations of nature. There is here no such assumption or contention. Our question, in this connection, does not go beyond an inquiry touching the inherent relations of natural forces to each other and the relations so discovered between man and the earth, both of whom are assumed to be the products of nature and existing subject to the laws of nature.

237. Evolution.—The theory of evolution asserts that the process by which nature passes from one state of existence to another is "like that which takes place in the development of an ovum into a mature animal." Now it is insisted that the earth was not created. It was born. It was not born full grown and in complete maturity. All of its features of landscape, of mountain and valley, of river and ocean, of land, of rocks and soils, of plants and animals, even its seasons and its climates, have been developed through countless ages of duration, of duration so long that a beginning

is as unthinkable as an ending seems impossible. During all this time the earth has moved out and on in space, by a combination of movements so complicated that no one can diagram her course, and with a speed so great that even calculation cannot measure her journey or keep pace with her progress.

238. Pre-conscious Development.—But the earth is not only related to time and to space with no end to one and no limit to the other, but it is instinct with life, with life as boundless and infinite as is the life of the universe itself. In the study of living organisms, the naturalist is never satisfied until he has discovered the function, that is, the use or purpose, of every separate bone, muscle, nerve and organ, and the relation of each to all. What is this organ for? What end does this muscle serve? These questions are constantly on the lips of the scientists. Surely, if we may ask for and expect to find a purpose for each part of each simplest life, in the same way we may ask for and expect to find some answer to our question, namely: When man ceased to play a wholly unconscious part in his own evolution and commenced with conscious foresight and purpose, to provide for his own comfort, what then did he find to be in his own "state of nature," his relations to the natural resources? Had the natural selection of his preconscious career put him in the way of Collectivism or of monopoly as the natural relation of the race to the earth? It has been seen that without Collectivism he could not have survived. It has been seen how this Collectivism of insects, birds and beasts relates itself in the same manner to the collective use of nature in their collective struggle for existence. It has been seen that for a thousand centuries after unconscious, natural selection had been succeeded on the part of man by conscious, natural selection

that it never seems to have occurred to any part of the race to monopolize nature's gifts to all.

239. The Right of the Most Conscious.—Again, the earth must belong in nature to that manifestation of nature which, being most conscious, is best able to enforce its right to the earth and to make use of the earth. Man is the most conscious part of nature. He has achieved the mastery over the rest of nature. He alone can use to the best advantage all of nature. He alone can use her mines, the advantages of cultivation, the fruits of improved natural increase and mechanical and chemical forces. If most things are used to their best advantage, if many things are used at all, man must use them, and he can use them to the best advantage only by collective use. If the natural resources do not belong to man, and to all men, then there are no natural relations between the highest culmination of natural life and the natural resources and natural forces which make up the environment which has brought to its culmination this same highest life.

240. Man and the Rest of Nature.—If this relation between man and the rest of nature and the claims of all men on the rest of nature, which must result from this relation, are to be denied, then the relation of motherhood itself may as well be disputed and all the study of the relations of things, or of persons and things, be at once abandoned. But this study of relations cannot be abandoned. One cannot think at all without thinking of the relations of things or of persons and things. There are no relations more evident or more important than the relations of man, all men, to the natural resources and to the natural forces which have caused his existence, and on which he must depend for the means of life, if after having been brought into existence he is to continue to exist at all.

241. The Earth and Man—The Plant and Its

Flower.—Every flowering plant exists for the sake of its blossoms. Every orchard tree grows for the sake of its fruit. Man is the best and highest product of nature which is known to us. All that had gone before him was making way for his coming. All that had gone before was but himself, enlarging and perfecting the forms of his own life. The earth and man are both the children of nature. They are not unrelated. Man is the mature animal grown from the ovum born from the earth. Out of the earth and the eternal forces of which the earth itself is a product, man has arisen on the earth. In the nature of things the earth must be adapted to his needs,—else he could not have come into existence on the earth, or, being in existence, he could not have survived. It furnishes the materials for his food, the fiber for his clothing, the means for his shelter and the fuel for his comfort.

242. Mutual Adaptation.—Twist the earth's position but a little and correct the incline of its axis toward the sun and the changing of the seasons would cease forever. The equator would then move on under a blazing sun that no life could endure and the great temperate belt, the scene of all man's great achievements, would then become uninhabitable fields of unchanging ice.⁷

Open a way for the unhindered passage westward of the waters of the Atlantic at the Isthmus of Panama, and the Gulf stream would disappear. Its northern movement, with its burden of warmth, a thousand feet deep and a hundred miles wide, moving at the rate of four miles an hour, would no longer make the European climate endurable.⁸

So twist the earth's axis or so open a passage for the Atlantic, and in either case, between the everlast-

7. Shaler: pp. 59-63.

8. Shaler: pp. 146-147.

ing cold and the everlasting heat of the frigid and the torrid zones, then brought close together and with both the heat and cold greatly intensified, an unceasing storm of measureless fury would sweep away or drown all life from the narrow strip of temperate country still left between these two extremes.⁹

By a thousand close adjustments, nature holds her children safely and makes man's existence possible. The earth is adapted to man's needs. Man is adapted to the earth. They are both the children of nature. They are the child and the grandchild of the mother of worlds. The earth were a barren woman, meaningless in her disappointed maternity, were it not for man. Man's existence is unthinkable without the earth. The earth is his because he must use it or he cannot survive.

243. Monopoly and Collectivism.—But the nature of monopoly is to deny this inherent, necessary relationship of man to the earth and to rob most men of its benefits. The nature of Collectivism is to enforce this necessary and inherent relationship between the earth and man and to protect the interests of all in this common inheritance.

244. The monopolists can find no defense in nature for their wrongs against the race. All nature is related, collected, united. From "the stars in their course" to the minutest fragments of floating dust, her grasp is as resistless as it is eternal. From the forms of life so simple and so fleeting that the student's glance through the microscope is more prolonged than the birth, maturity and decay of such life,—from such a simple life to the most prolonged and most ennobled life of man,—nature is bound together, is related; her

9. Shaler: pp. 146-147.

sequence, her order, her intelligibility, her Collectivism is complete.

245. The Test of Strength.—Again, if it be claimed that the earth's origin and man's origin on the earth are of no consequence and that the earth belongs to those who, in the struggle for existence, have been able to get it and that having it, they have the right to keep it, the answer is that the struggle for existence is not over, and this position, if admitted, will prove too much for those who hold to private monopoly in the ownership of the earth. If those who are able to take it may rightfully own it, then it only remains for the whole people to take it in order to own it beyond dispute. More than this, if ability to take establishes the right to own, no one will dispute that all of the people are stronger than any share of the people, and therefore the helpless few who hold the earth are not its rightful owners, even on the ground of the righteousness of might, which is the last and only defense for their betrayal of the race by the few who wish to exclude the many from equal access to all the gifts of nature.¹⁰

246. Private Titles Based on Force.—Unreasonable as this position may seem in such a bald statement of the case, the fact is that all private titles to all natural resources do rest on no other foundation than force. It has been seen in Chapters Four and Five how the force which established the private legal titles to the

10. "There is nothing which so generally strikes the imagination and engages the affections of mankind on the right of property; or that sole and despotic dominion which one man claims and exercises over the external things of the world, in total exclusion of the right of any other individual in the universe. And yet there are very few that will give themselves the trouble to consider the original and foundation of this right. Pleased as we are with the possession, we seem afraid to look back to the means by which it was acquired, as if fearful of some defect in our title; or at best we rest satisfied with the decision of the laws in our favor, without examining the reason for authority upon which those laws have

land also established chattel slavery and the subjection of woman. It has been seen how the militarism which established slavery and the private titles to land grew into world-wide despotism. The despotic political power established by militarism has been overthrown. Chattel slavery established by militarism has been outgrown and forbidden, but private land titles resting on no other defense than the same defense which established, perpetuated and defended both political despotism and chattel slavery, still remain. There is not an argument which can be made for the monopoly of land which cannot be made with equal force for the defense of political despotism and for the defense of chattel slavery. The destruction of both political despotism and chattel slavery, so far as their destruction has really been accomplished, has been by the collective growth and the collective revolt of the collective life of the race.

247. The End of Monopoly.—The tyranny of despotism and the inequality of slavery can never be utterly destroyed so long as monopoly in the ownership of the natural resources is permitted to remain. The same militarism which destroyed primitive Collectivism, in the use of the earth, also destroyed Democracy and Equality. The evolutionary process which is so

been built. We think it enough that our title is derived by the grant of the former proprietor, by descent from our ancestors, or by the last will and testament of the dying owner; not caring to reflect that (accurately and strictly speaking) there is no foundation in nature or in natural law why a set of words upon parchment should convey the domain of land; why the son should have a right to exclude his fellow creatures from a determinate spot of ground because his father had done so before him; or why the occupier of a particular field or of a jewel, when lying on his death-bed, and no longer able to maintain possession, should be entitled to tell the rest of the world which of them should enjoy it after him. These inquiries it must be owned, would be useless and even troublesome in common life. It is well if the mass of mankind will obey the laws when made, without scrutinizing too nicely into the reasons for making them.”—Blackstone: Commentaries on English Law, Book II., Chapter I., Section 2.

strongly leading to the establishment of Democracy and Equality can never cease until, in its culmination, Collectivism, in the use of the earth, and in the means by which the earth may best be used, shall be established. So long as the right of one to own what another must use is admitted, so long men will continue the fight with bargains, or with bayonets, or with both, to secure and extend this destructive monopoly in the ownership of the earth. This warfare of monopoly, tyranny, and inequality can never be stopped except by Collectivism. But under Collectivism such a conflict would be impossible, for, under Collectivism, monopoly must stop at the line where the collective interest makes its beginning.

248. Inherent in the Nature of Things.—Lester F. Ward declares that “From the point of view of sentient beings, that is most natural which results in the greatest advantage.”¹¹ Until it can be shown that it is to “the greatest advantage” of a living organism to be denied the means of providing the means of its own existence, monopoly in the ownership of the earth must be held to be, in effect, the denial of necessary human rights, which are inherent in the nature of things, under any possible, rational interpretation of the nature of things. Collectivism is the only alternative. As society approaches the realization of this truth, Socialism becomes the self-evident necessity of the ripening movement of the years. The origin of Socialism is in the nature of things. The development of Socialism is nothing else than the natural development of the life of the race under the dominion of natural law. This development is more rapid, more resistless, and the results more inevitable as the process of evolution becomes more conscious, and hence more purpose-

11. Ward: *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. II, p. 538.

ful,—more subject to the foresight of intelligent direction, less subject to the chances of accidental survivals.

249. Summary.—1. The earth belongs to all men.

2. To those who hold to the authority of the Christian and Jewish scriptures, the authority of these scriptures to this effect is complete.

3. To the scientific mind, the making of the earth and the origin of man cannot be separated. The monopoly of the earth by a few cannot make any such use of the earth as would make any satisfactory culmination for the countless centuries of time and the vast movements of the worlds involved in the creation of both the earth and man. But the use of all the earth by all the people through long periods of time, while the great achievements of the race are effected and the perfection of the race-life is attained, does give a fitting climax to the long processes of the ages.

4. The earth and man are mutually adapted to each other, belong together. Man cannot live without it. Whatever right he has to his life, he has the same right to the earth as the sole means by which his life is possible.

5. Those who created the private titles to the earth created these titles and the owners continue to hold them solely by force. But as force is the sole foundation of private titles, no such title can be valid in the face of a stronger force. The private owners are becoming fewer in number and weaker in power. The disinherited are becoming larger in number and greater in power. Titles based on force must finally deliver the earth to all of the people.

6. Only under the collective use of the earth's resources can the earth be used to "the greatest advantage," which is "most natural."

7. Only under Socialism can this advantage of collective use, and hence the fulfillment of natural law, be realized.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. If the Biblical account of the earth's origin is to be interpreted as a literal statement of facts then to whom does the earth belong?
2. If the scientific account of the origin of the earth is to be accepted, then to whom does the earth belong?
3. Give an account of the development of the earth; of the beginning and the forming of the planets; the producing of the rings of Saturn; the moon; and the earth's surface.
4. Give an account of the origin of coal, of oil, and of the preparation of the soil for cultivation.
5. Does the question of the justice of man's joint ownership of the earth involve the question of intentions or of conscious design in nature?
6. When man first became a conscious factor in his own development, how did he regard himself as related to the earth? Was his earliest use of the earth under monopoly or Collectivism?
7. Can man live without the earth?
8. Has man a right to his life regardless of the consent of others?
9. Has he a right to the earth regardless of the consent of others?
10. Why has the most conscious part of the earth the right of mastery or ownership?
11. Why has man a right to the earth as its final and highest product?
12. Who would be entitled to the earth under the argument of adaptation?
13. Where is man's place in nature so far as nature herself may indicate?
14. If the strongest are to have the earth, who will get it in the future? Why?
15. What is meant by the nature of things?
16. Why are all men entitled to the earth in the nature of things?
17. Why is the collective use of the earth necessary?
18. Why is Socialism necessary to the collective use of the earth?

CHAPTER XVI

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL DEMOCRACIES

250. The Fall of Democracy.—Democracy once ruled the world in its economic interests, and through these, all other interests as well. This was the case under barbarism. When war became the chief industry, and the military master the master of the industries, as well as of war, then despotism succeeded Democracy. Collectivism yielded to monopoly, and equality of opportunity to inequality. The individual workman no longer depended for his own existence on his own efforts, but first of all on the consent of his industrial master.

251. The Struggle for Democracy.—The struggle for Democracy anywhere is a step towards its re-appearance everywhere. So far as the struggle for Democracy has been effective in religious or political organizations, these struggles have not only had their economic causes, but they are also having their economic results.

252. Political Democracies Among Industrial Masters.—Socialism asks for Democracy in industry. Has Democracy been recently tried in other fields? Has the tyranny of private monopoly been overthrown any-

where else in such a way as to suggest a like victory at the workshop and in the market place? Heretofore all revolutions under the monopoly of capitalism have been revolutions by which some inferior class has sought to overthrow the authority of some superior class whose rule it had found unbearable. In no case has any successful revolution gone to the bottom and sought to enfranchise those who were the servants of the rebels, as well as to overthrow those who were their masters. As a result all Democracies under civilization have been limited in their citizenship to those who had been able to overthrow their masters, and have never extended to the field of industry in which these political democrats were themselves oppressing their industrial dependents. Nevertheless, the overthrow of the masters, in any event, and the world's ability to get along without them anywhere, once established, has always strengthened the claims of Democracy and has had the distinct effect of bringing nearer the coming of Socialism, under which industrial Democracy will dispose of the industrial masters, along with the utter destruction of the whole human relationship of mastery and servitude.¹

1. "The struggle for emancipation through the exercise of legislative power, as we have said, is indispensable in conducting the social struggle. Those who do not possess it are condemned to perpetual passivity. The unique method which they employ against the ruling classes is aptly called the struggle for emancipation. The might of ideas is on their side, a significant statement which needs careful explanation.

"The superior classes, as we have seen, cannot rest content with the fact of superiority; political relations need to be confirmed; might must be turned into right. It seemed simple enough for them to say: Let this be right. But every right has its obverse obligation; however comprehensive, it has its limits at which obligations begin, the rights of those who hitherto have had none. So the rights of the rulers produced the rights of the ruled. The germ was there and it must develop.

"But more than this; the human mind probes to the foundation of things seeking the principle of causation and analyzing the change of phenomena to find their eternal unchanging essence. Now in the changing phases of right the enduring principle is the idea. Thus rights not only lead to obligations, but also to the idea of right.

253. The Early Church. — The early Christian church came into world-wide influence so largely and so rapidly because of its connections with the ancient labor unions and the slaves' associations. These unions and associations were in every respect as fully democratic as possible under the limitations of secrecy made necessary by the enmity of the government of the

"If the obligation could be called the consequence of right in space, the idea was its consequence in time. Whoever asserts his rights cannot escape their consequences. Thus the rulers themselves forge weapons with which the ruled and powerless classes successfully attack them and complete the natural process. The egoism of the powerful prepares the way for the uprising of the weak.

"The idea of right is not a purely fanciful conception. It has power to influence men and can be practically applied. Men grow accustomed year by year to submit to rights; they use legal forms constantly and learn to respect rightful limitations, until finally the conception, the very idea, of rights pervades and controls them. In this way the idea of right becomes the fit weapon for those who have no other.

"But its application is not simple. The legal bulwarks of the powerful will not yield to a simple appeal to ideas as Jericho's walls fell at the blast of trumpets; and, besides, the propertyless and powerless are unable to use such mental weapons immediately. Again we see the egoism of the one class promoting the social evolution of the whole. The bourgeoisie in the struggle, with the other property classes, is the first to appeal to universal human rights, to freedom and equality.

"It claims to be contending, not for itself alone, but for the good of the whole folk. And it succeeds not without the support of the masses whom it flatters and to whom it discloses the resplendent goal of freedom and equality. Its might, like that of the higher class, is now based on right, and though for the moment what it has won seems to be clear gain, it has found the yoke of legal logic about its neck and must submit to its ideas.

"For the lowest classes participation in the struggle was a profitable experience. Even the slight amelioration of their condition was an advantage. It taught them many a lesson. But it is hard for them, relying simply on ideas, to undertake the social struggle, for political regulations are firmly based on the possession of material goods and are defended by the middle class also, and moreover as time goes on some of their ideas prove false and indefensible.

"But in spite of exaggerations they are logical consequences of principles which the ruling class asserted in its own interest and from which the middle class profited, declaring them at the time to be universal. They cannot be wholly eradicated; they aid the struggle for the emancipation of the fourth class powerfully. They inspire the masses with fanaticism and the struggle for the emancipation succeeds."—Gumplowicz: *The Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 148-149.

Caesars.² The old church was not a respecter of persons.³ It did not act in any matters of importance without conference and agreement with the brothers, and these democratic fraternities of the working people, lasted for at least two hundred and fifty years. These examples of Collectivism, of Democracy and of Equality were so real and far-reaching that the later military organization of the church has been unable to utterly destroy them.⁴

254. Ecclesiastical Rebels.—Bodies of worshipers who did not yield to the new authorities on the development of the military model of church organization still clung to the traditions of the earlier Democracies.

2. "Still another peculiarity of the labor organizations was that they were secret. All through the vista of a thousand years during which we know them they were strictly a secret order. This habit of secrecy proved of greatest value during persecutions. Being legalized by a law so much revered, they were seldom molested except when persecuted on account of their political activities. Then it was that their discipline of profound secrecy proved of greatest value. After the amalgamation of the Christians with them their secrecy was so great that for ages they maintained themselves in spite of the most searching detectives of the Roman police the world over; and the evangelizing agents continued the preaching of the original doctrines and ideas until at last they assumed the mastery and conquered the Roman world."—Ward: *Ancient Lowly*, Vol. II., p. 105.

"Sodalicia" is one of the names applied to the ancient Roman labor organizations. Certain organizations within the Roman Catholic church are today known as "Sodalities." (*Sodalis Companion*.)

"What became of all of these incomes into the *eranos*—(labor unions)? They went to buy, in quantities and at wholesale, without the usual middleman and his system of selfish profits, the food for the common table, to which all the members had an equal democratic right. Why not? Each, without exception, paid into a common fund the same sum in form of periodical dues sufficient to keep him or her supplied with nourishment which under that system of the *syssitai* was furnished by the society out of these in-pouring funds; and it had a complete set of cooks, buyers, waiters, and officers of every kind to carry out the system to perfection." Ward: *Ancient Lowly*, Vol. II., p. 263.

3. "In the great community of the lovers of Christ 'bond and free' were alike. There was no distinction in the sight of God, none in the church. They recognized slavery as they recognized the tyranny of Cæsar, but they put the slave, in their treatment and in their language, on the like footing with his owner."—Brace: *Gesta Christa*, p. 45.

4. "It is striking that with the demand for freedom from feudal

Except where the protesting churches acted under the patronage of royal authority, as in England and in Germany,⁵ all revolts against the military authorities of the church have always been efforts to re-establish ecclesiastical Democracies. This was true of Wycliffe, and the Lollards, of Huss, of the Waldenses, of the Quakers, and of the Russian Stundists. The Quakers and the Stundists carry their principles of Democracy back to the primitive order of unanimous agreement.

255. The Calvinistic Churches.—John Calvin was the principal citizen of Geneva, which was an ancient free city. In later years Rousseau came from Geneva to Paris and wrote into his social theories what he had already seen in practice in his native city, together with its traditions of an earlier and completer Democracy.

When Calvin helped to separate his city from the military organization of the church, he found his model for re-organization, not in the army, but in the democratic ideals of the city of his adoption and in the traditions of the Democracies of the early church. In France, in Scotland, in Holland, in England and finally in America, the ecclesiastical democrats became political democrats as rapidly as they were able to win control of the political power. It is impossible to over-estimate the influence of the Democracy of Holland on the English sojourners in that country who afterward became so largely the builders of New England's in-

burdens is always included that for a free and elected clergy."—Brace: *Gesta Christa*, p. 234.

5. In England the revolt against the church authorities at Rome was purely a political matter, led by the King of England, and was simply a shifting of the head of the English ecclesiastical authority from Rome to the English King. In Germany the princes were fighting the political power of Rome quite as much as was Luther fighting the ecclesiastical authority. Neither the English nor Lutheran church became democratic, because both were established either directly by or under the patronage of royal authorities.

stitutions. It is clearly the case that the Democracy of the Calvinistic churches had no small share in supporting the democratic tendencies of the American colonists.

256. The Windsor Constitution.—In Connecticut was established the most ideal of political Democracies. The frontiersmen wrote at Windsor the first Constitution in human history which was the instrument of creating a new and sovereign state. In it they separated citizenship from church membership. They made no appeal to the consideration of royal grants or ecclesiastical endorsements. These free men of the open forest admitted no power on earth more sacred than their own voluntary action. But this work was accomplished with the help of one of those Calvinistic preachers, who, having helped to create a church without a bishop, proceeded to help build a state without a king. This preacher, Thomas Hooker, whom John Fiske contends deserves more to be called the father of American Democracy than any other man, held that "The choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance," and that "they who have power to appoint officers and magistrates have the right also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them." Fiske further claims that at the time of the American Revolution, the state of Connecticut was "The strongest political structure of the continent."⁶

257. American Industrial and Political Democracy.—Karl Marx holds that the American frontiersman never lost his industrial independence, secured through the settlement of a new country and the use of simple and inexpensive tools, until the time of the American civil war.⁷ American political Democracy has never

⁶ John Fiske: *The Beginnings of New England*, p. 127.

⁷ Marx: *Capital*, Chapter XXXIII.

willingly consented to the monopoly of political power. The political power of Jefferson, Jackson and most of all, of Lincoln, was the result of a direct appeal to this frontiersman's spirit of holding and using political power for economic advantage as the political right of an American citizen.

258. Lincoln on Labor and Capital.—The discussions of Lincoln on labor and capital and his warning to the self-employed American workers not to lose or neglect to use their political power in their own economic behalf, is only a part of the record of how deeply the right of self-government, of political Democracy, was appreciated and how clearly, at least, Mr. Lincoln could see the economic importance of political activities by the workers in their own behalf.⁸

259. The Populist Party.—The Populist party was not so much an effort to save mortgaged farms as to

8. "In these documents we find the abridgement of the existing right of suffrage, and the denial to the people of all rights to participate in the selection of public officers except the legislative, boldly advocated, with labored arguments to prove that large control of the people in government is the source of all political evil. * * * In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach to returning despotism. * * * There is one point with its connections not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention: It is an effort to place capital upon an equal footing with, if not above, labor in the structure of government. * * * Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages a while, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account for a while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all, gives hope to all, and consequent energy, progress and improvement of condition to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty—none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned.

"Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost."
—Lincoln's Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1861.

prevent political monopoly from forever withholding from the workers any effective voice in the control of public affairs. Its cry was against the plutocrat, not so much because he controlled in the market, as because he was a political usurper; and the control of politics, by millions of dollars, meant to them both the political and economic dependence of millions of men.

260. In no instance in all this were the economic proposals of the Socialists made or more than remotely hinted at, and yet all this was a part of the struggle for Democracy, and Democracy is essential to Socialism.

261. A Shop Without a Boss.—Lyman Abbott claims, with good reason, “That when the world learned it could have a state without a king and a church without a bishop, it had taken a long step towards learning that there could be a shop without a boss.”⁹

262. The Plutocrat, the Democrat and Socialism.—The political warfare of today is widely admitted to be a contest between the plutocrat and the democrat. This war cannot last long without discovering that the plutocrat is all-powerful in the government because he is all-powerful in the market place; that the democrat, the workingman, the industrial slave, is helpless in the government because he is industrially dependent in the market place. The power of the plutocrat in politics has its source in the monopoly of the shop and the market. The workingman will never be able to show his power in the state unless he shall achieve his industrial independence in the shop and in the market. There can be no real Democracy anywhere until the means of producing the means of life come under democratic control. Make the workers once the masters of their own means of producing the means of life, and

9. Lyman Abbott: Industrial Democracy, (a lecture).

they will take care of Democracy everywhere else. The struggle for Democracy and against the masters of the lives of others, anywhere, is in vain, unless the masters of the market-place are to be overthrown. Ecclesiastical and political Democracies will have been established in vain unless that political power shall at last be used to establish industrial Democracy—which is Socialism.

263. Summary.—1. Both industrial and political Democracies were overthrown by the introduction of slavery at the beginning of civilization.

2. Every effort to re-establish Democracy anywhere has been a part of the long struggle to re-establish it everywhere.

3. The early church, the slave associations, the trades unions, the fraternities, and besides, all ecclesiastical revolts, except when in the interest of political masters, have been efforts to re-establish Democracy.

4. American Democracy can be largely traced to freedom of economic opportunity and the influences of the independent churches which were themselves revisions to primitive Democracy.

5. The present struggle between the political plutocrat and the political democrat can never come to any final settlement except by the overthrow of the industrial plutocrat by the industrial democrat, which means the triumph of industrial Democracy—which is Socialism.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. When and how were monopoly, tyranny and inequality established in the world?

2. What is meant by industrial Democracy?

3. Has there ever been any real political Democracy without industrial Democracy?

4. What other institutions were practicing Democracy at the time of the early church?

5. After what model was the church afterward organized?

6. What was characteristic of all those churches which refused to conform to the military model of church organization?

7. In what cases were there church revolts which did not attempt to return to democratic models?
8. Trace Calvinistic church influence in promoting American democratic tendencies.
9. What was the economic foundation of the early American Democracy?
10. Quote Lincoln (Notes) and Lyman Abbott.
11. Why is industrial Democracy necessary if political Democracy is to exist?

CHAPTER XVII

MODERN SCIENCE AND SOCIALISM

264. Modern Science.—The word “science” means knowledge, but it is knowledge in a particular form. The main facts relating to any subject must be gathered by exact observation and then arranged and classified in such a way as to show their relations to each other.¹

The term “modern science” is used in this connection as meaning knowledge so obtained by observation and classification. Any knowledge which may be supposed to have been obtained by intuition, or instinct, or revelation, or dreams, or in any other way which does not involve observed facts and their logical arrangement and classification, as the process by which conclusions are reached, cannot be spoken of as “modern science.”

It is the purpose of this chapter to show that, so far as science is related to industrial and commercial institutions, the conclusions of modern science are in support of the conclusions of Socialists; and that the achievements in industry and commerce which have been made possible by the progress of modern science also involve the establishment of Socialism as the only

1. Ward: *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. I., p. 2.

means by which such achievements can bring their benefits to the whole body of society.

265. The Wickedness of Growth.—Formerly it was supposed that society was created and all its forms established by divine authority. The divine right of kings did not mean that the king alone had the right to rule by divine authority. It meant, as well, that all civil officers, judges, clerks, all priests and bishops and all classes based on economic advantages were also of divine authority, while the helpless, the disinherited and dispossessed were under a divine obligation to be contented, not to complain at their lot, but to patiently serve those believed to be divinely ordained to be their masters.

If the institutions and usages of society were attacked by any one, the answer was that, however hard or seemingly cruel such institutions might seem to be, they were the divine order, and that whoever complained was a blasphemer, guilty of such wickedness as forfeited his right to live, to say nothing about his right to be heard.

266. Some Old Records.—The old records give the stories of whole tribes pitilessly butchered by divine order. Those who regarded these acts as examples worthy to be followed have defended these particular acts upon the ground that, while they seem terrible to us, nevertheless, the God who gave life has the right to take it away, and in any way which to him would seem wisest and most effective, in order to defend or establish institutions or nations which are to exist by divine authority and with divine approval.

267. Recent Investigations.—But modern science has been accurately observing the remains of the implements, the burial places and the monuments, as well as tracing the origins of languages; and the institutions which these origins in speech and remnants of imple-

ments, burial places and monuments reveal, have been found to be, in any given stage of human development, practically the same among all races of mankind. Not only was Israel commanded to exterminate its enemies, but all other tribes among all races of mankind in the same stage of development always fought under similar instructions from their tribal gods. In many other particulars it has been found that the tribes, supposed to be acting under divine direction, developed exactly the same institutions, both civil and military, as were developed by other tribes understood to have been acting under divine condemnation.

268. The Law of Social Growth.—The law of social development has been recognized by special students of these matters and it is now known that whatever exists at any particular period has been developed out of the institutions which previously existed, and that this is true of all nations, regardless of the form of religion adopted by any. The doctrine of the divine authority of kings can have no standing in the presence of modern science, nor can any of the contentions that any of the institutions of modern society exist under such divine sanction as would make it sacrilegious to continue the process of improvement, which has been going on from the beginning, have further serious consideration.

269. The Social Compact.—More than one hundred years ago the doctrine of divine authority of kings was vigorously attacked and some new basis was sought for on which to rest the authority of the state. The doctrine of the social compact or social contract was devised. Under this doctrine it was assumed that at some time or other the people in any given community, either in form or in effect, had come to an agreement that certain usages should be established, certain natural rights surrendered, and that society should be organized in a certain way. With the departure of the

divine right of kings there came into being the contention for the sacred obligation of contracts. In actual practice it came to mean that whatever exists has, in effect, been agreed to, and that to propose a change is a violation of the agreement; it is an interference with the obligation of contracts.²

270. Taken for Granted.—Of course, it was rarely contended that the people living at any given time had themselves made such contracts; only some one who had lived before them had done so, and that the contract, once established by the consent of somebody, must forever afterwards bind the life of everybody, or there was a violation of contracts, and contracts must not be violated. It involves the absurd position that vested rights granted by those who are dead may **not** be denied by those who are living.

271. "Abrogation of Contracts."—In the United States the constitution provides the manner under which it may be amended, but it provides further that any law involving the abrogation of contracts shall be void and without force.

The Illinois Trust & Savings Bank Company of Chicago, the Rothschild institution of that city, has a charter which was granted to a small country bank prior to the adoption of the present state constitution. It gave the old corporation permission to deal in real estate, but the present constitution forbids any corporation in Illinois to do so. But the living people of Illinois have no authority, even by changing their constitution, to change the contracts entered into by the dead people of Illinois before the current constitution was adopted. Under the divine right of kings, to

2. "Under no form of government is it so dangerous to erect a political idol as in a Democratic Republic, for once erected, it is a sin against the Holy Ghost to lay hands upon it."—Von Holst, quoted in *Annals of Toil*, p. 199.

"The psychologic law tends to reverse the biologic law."—Ward: *Psychic Factors in Civilization*, p. 259.

change social institutions was wicked; under the current idea, to change them is dishonest.

272. New Life Must "Abrogate" Old Forms.—But again, modern science has established that no institutions of society are the arbitrary creations of any compact or contract or bargain ever made by any group of men, at any time, anywhere. It is now known that these compacts were never established until such conditions had been reached in the growth of the race as made the continuance of the old forms impossible and the existence of the new forms inevitable. In other words, it was the growth of the race which made the contract, or the constitution, and not the constitution which made the growth of the race.

When the old forms have gone out of existence and the new forms have come into being, it has always been in the midst of strife, unless the old forms had grown so helpless that resistance on their part was impossible. But the new forms never made terms with the old. They have always taken possession in spite of the old. They have done so by force, if force was necessary.

The whole story of human history has been one of old forms outgrown. The new forms first outgrew and then destroyed the older ones. These changes have always been in the line of industrial and social needs. Wherever degeneracy in public institutions has taken place it has always been because economic and social conditions have outgrown civil and political institutions, and the degeneracy has ensued as the result of attempting to use outgrown forms in the midst of conditions under which they could not operate.

It is seen, therefore, that for the new forms to appear, in order to serve the new life already developed, is not dishonorable; it is no more the violation of a binding contract than for a living tree to continue growing though the dead bark about it cannot grow with it and

must be broken by the process. It is not infamous nor dishonest to abandon the old. It is the outright betrayal of both the present and the future not to do so.

273. Science—The Shackle-Breaker.—Science has unshackled the hands bound by the doctrine of the obligation of contracts. Science has unshackled the hands bound by the superstition which assumed the divine authority of the old and proclaimed the sacrilege of the new. Science has so rewritten civics and interpreted religion as to attach both wickedness and dishonor to whatever effort is made to bind the new life of today in the grave clothes of yesterday.

Monopoly, tyranny and inequality have been hiding behind the divine right to rule and to enslave and to rob. Monopoly, tyranny and inequality have been hiding behind the sacredness of contracts. Modern science has stripped away these ancient coverings and forces monopoly, tyranny and inequality to justify themselves regardless of divine orders or of "contracts regularly signed, sealed and delivered."

Collectivism, democracy and equality may now have their hearing without suffering from the charge of wickedness or the sneer of dishonor. By thus setting at liberty the mind of man to deal fearlessly with social problems, modern science has made a contribution of incalculable value to the development of Socialism.³

274. Science and Inventions.—But modern science has not only taken the "blind-fold" from his eyes; it has furnished the tools and the methods of thinking which leads the student of social and economic problems inevitably to collectivism. In mechanics, chemistry and electricity, agriculture, mining, and in all

3. "The scientific achievements of the human intellect no longer occur sporadically; they follow one upon another, like the organized and systematic conquests of a resistless army. Each new discovery becomes at once a powerful implement in the hands of innumerable workers, and each year wins over fresh regions of the universe from the unknown to the known."—Fiske: *The Idea of God*, p. 49.

lines of manufactures, the discoveries of science bear an important relation to the current development of industry and commerce. In all these it has had a large share in the work which has given to us our modern machinery. But the modern machinery involves social production, the benefits of which can never come to the whole body of society so long as capitalism shall last.

275. In Manufactures.—The automatic machine is making production more and more an automatic process. As each step is taken the worker becomes a less important factor and the machine assumes new and more commanding importance.

The great steel plants maintain great laboratories, with most expensive equipments, and have the most capable chemists continually engaged in experiments, for the purpose of effecting improvements in the processes of production, every one of which involves the establishment of industry on a larger scale, thus making all production more and more social production, all of which are steps in the growth which makes the coming of Socialism inevitable.⁴

Electricity, for example, cannot be used individually. All of its advantages depend upon its use by many people at the same time. This means that with this social use the exercise of equal rights on the part of all the people in the advantages so secured cannot be long postponed.

276. In Agriculture.—In agriculture the special training provided by the schools in agriculture has reached but a small percentage of the actual workers

4. "The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labor?" —Marx and Engels: Communist Manifesto, p. 20.

on the land, but every such step involves larger capital and more perfect organization. Science cannot be applied to agriculture in the most effective manner, except agriculture shall be carried on on a larger scale than is possible under individual self-employment, and if carried on under effective organization, its benefits can accrue to the whole body of society only by the establishment of Socialism.

277. Growing Toward Socialism.—Wherever modern science has touched the industry and commerce of modern life it has shown the old methods of organization, the old schemes of distribution, the old forms of capitalistic enterprise, to be fatal to the interests of the whole body of the people. Each step in the advance of science as applied to the industry and commerce of the world is a nearer approach to the coming of Socialism.

This is true because capitalism involves the monopoly of the great achievements, and their operation through industrial tyranny and the creating and enforcing of conditions of great inequality.

Socialism is hurried nearer by each step in the advance of science, because the advantages of these achievements can be realized by all only under collectivism, administered by an industrial democracy, and with equal opportunities for all to become the users of the great equipments and organizations which scientific methods of production are bringing into all of the processes by which the means of life may be produced.

278. Sanitary Science.—The same is true of sanitary science. Sanitary conditions cannot be maintained on single city lots. With the departure of Spanish control from Havana and the application of sanitary science to Havana, the yellow fever departed and did not return. Sanitary science is conclusively establishing that contagious and infectious diseases may be

driven off the earth if the people so will; but this can be undertaken in no small, individualistic way.

Capitalism can find no sufficient reward in annual dividends for draining great swamps, for cleaning up and disinfecting whole states and for going round the world, if necessary, to clean out the plague spots from which world-wide contagion has repeatedly carried the plagues to the ends of the earth.

Sanitary science emphasizes the common life and the common dependence of all peoples everywhere upon each other, as does no other single fact known to man; but capitalism looking for dividends is helpless, and only the whole race caring for itself will be able to meet a problem so great and secure advantages so lasting as the sanitary campaign which must be undertaken in the near future, and which will make the business of the race for a generation the removal of those seeds of disease which every year doom to such needless slaughter those who cannot be defended from diphtheria, typhoid, smallpox and the bubonic plague, so long as capitalism shall last.⁵

5. "But our problem was whether it is possible for society to improve itself. Society is simply a compound organism whose acts exhibit the resultant of all the individual forces which its members exert. These acts, whether individual or collective, obey fixed laws. Objectively viewed, society is a natural object, presenting a variety of complicated movements produced by a particular class of natural forces. The question, therefore, simply is, Can man ever control these forces to his advantage as he controls other, and some very complicated, natural forces? Is it true that man shall ultimately obtain the dominion of the whole world except himself? I regard society and the social forces as constituting just as much a legitimate field for the exercise of human ingenuity as do the various material substances and physical forces. The latter have been investigated and subjugated. The former are still pursuing their wild, unbridled course. The latter still exist, still exhibit their indestructible dynamic tendencies, still obey the Newtonian laws of motion, still operate along the lines of least resistance. But man, by teleological foresight, has succeeded in harmonizing these lines of least resistance with those of greatest advantage to himself. He has winds, the waters, fire, steam and electricity do his bidding. All nature both animate and inanimate, has been reduced to his service. One field alone remains unsubdued. One class of natural forces still remains the play of chance, and from it he is constantly receiving the most serious check. This

Not so long as the poverty and neglect of the back alley remain can the child of the boulevard be secure from harm. Not so long as half the race goes to sleep each night with hunger only partly satisfied can any portion of the race be safe from the plagues which feed upon those whose vitality is of the lowest order.

Monopoly cannot provide security, even for the monopolists, from the crimes, the disasters, and the contagions which monopolists cause for others and are not altogether able to escape from themselves. The foulest atmosphere and the disease germs, like all the rest of nature, are no respecters of persons. Every step in sanitary science is a step away from the monopoly, tyranny and inequality of capitalism—a drawing nearer of the triumph of Socialism.

279. Science and Crime.—Science has also undertaken the study of crime. It has carefully investigated the cranial malformations which are characteristic of the various classes of criminals. It has estab-

field is that of society itself, these unreclaimed forces are the social forces, of whose nature man seems to possess no knowledge, whose very existence he persistently ignores and which he consequently is powerless to control. * * *

Again the defenders of laissez faire will object that society has always done better when let alone; that all efforts to improve the moral or material condition of society by legislation and kindred means have not only been inoperative, but have, in the majority of cases, done positive harm, often to the very cause they were intended to subserve.

"If it could be proved that they had always been absolutely inoperative the case would, perhaps, be somewhat discouraging; but, if they can be shown to have had an evil effect, this is all we can hope or desire. For if they can do harm, then they can do something, and nothing is left but to make them do good. Legislation (I use the term in the most general sense) is nothing else but invention. It is an effort so to control the forces of a state as to secure the greatest benefits to its people. But these forces are social forces, and the people are the members of society. As matters now are and have thus far been, government, in so far as the improvement of society is concerned, has been to a great extent a failure. It has done good service in protecting the operation of the natural dynamic forces, and for this it should receive due credit. But it has also to be charged with a long account of opposition to science and oppression of aspiring humanity."—Ward: *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. I., pp. 35-37.

lished that the Socialists have been mistaken in assuming that the crimes against property will utterly disappear with the coming of Socialism, but it has also established that when crime is not the direct result of bad social and economic conditions, it is the result of mental malformations which are themselves the result of inheritances from earlier social disorders. No generation can remedy for itself the mental misfortunes which it has inherited from the past. These matters can be effected only through a series of generations in which each shall act, not for itself, but for its offspring.

Under capitalism the whole force of society, so far as related to industry and commerce, is controlled with a view to securing dividends in time for the next semi-annual settlement with the stockholders. The range of its activities is too narrow and the range of its motives is too limited for so great an undertaking. Under Socialism, the whole industrial and commercial life of the world will be organized, not for immediate dividends, but for the purpose of serving the whole life of man; and no future will be too distant, and no problem too great for society to undertake, when the strength or purity or sanity of its children is involved.⁶

280. Conscious Selection and Desired Survivals.—

It has been contended, however, that modern science,

6. "The next question that naturally arises is, what special change takes place in the material and social conditions to render a further advance in civilization possible at any given point? Now, to answer this question aright, it is desirable, perhaps, at the outset to get a clear idea of what an advance in civilization really means. If, therefore, we consider the various stages through which the world has passed in its progress from barbarism up to the present time, we shall find that the movement of what is called civilization has been along two distinct lines—the one an upright, vertical line; the other a lateral, horizontal one. The upright, vertical movement is seen in the gradual rise of men's ideals from that of prowess and mere brute force and mere brute courage, which was the ideal in the early life of all peoples (and still is so in the lowest savage races), up through the times when military strategy, cunning, and diplomacy shared with personal courage men's admiration, onward to the present day, when

instead of so defending Socialism, has proven its theories false and its proposals altogether impracticable and impossible, because it is said modern science has established that the growth of the race has been through an age-long struggle in which the fittest only has survived, and that, inasmuch as man has been made great and strong as he is under the law of the survival of the fittest in the midst of the struggle for existence, that if this struggle shall be interfered with, the degeneracy of the race will necessarily be the result.

Socialism, it is said, is an effort to provide, in defiance of the law of nature, for the survival of the unfittest. But the fact is that the survival of the fittest

the most serious sections of the most civilized nations have as their ideal that intellectual power, which, in its many different aspects, has produced all that is great and admirable in civil and national life. Except among the lowest savage races and the lowest class in civilized communities, mere physical prowess as an ideal may be said to have completely passed away; the military ideal, too, with all its accompaniments, is fast dying out, in spite of its temporary recrudescence among some of the foremost nations, owing to material and political necessities; and now, mental power, in its many various applications, whether as practical wisdom, political sagacity, artistic, literary, or philosophical power, is supreme. But besides the upward movement which characterizes advancing civilization—the rise in men's ideals—we note a lateral horizontal movement as seen in the more equitable administration of justice, the wider area for intellect, of knowledge, the wider extension of liberty and equality. Carrying with us this double movement, viz., the upward rise of Ideals and the lateral extension of Justice and Right—as that by which advancing civilization is characterized, it will be expedient, if we wish to find out what changes take place in the material and social conditions of the world to render successive advances in civilization possible, to follow the rule laid down in the chapter on History, and instead of groping blindly through the mazes of historical detail, to look rather for the cue to what we want in the world of today, in the full assurance that if we can discover the conditions that render progress possible today in a world which we know and can directly inspect the same must have been true in the days of Moses, of Caesar, of Charlemagne—days that we cannot directly inspect and that we do not and can never really know.

“If, then, we look fixedly into what actually takes place around us, we shall find that the first condition of progress and development, of free, unimpeded growth and expansion, whether among individuals, classes, or nations, lies in the practical equalization of the Material and Social conditions under which they live.”—Crozier: *Civilization and Progress*, pp. 396-97.

does **not** mean the survival of the worthiest, but always the survival of the one best fitted to whatever the environment may be, altogether regardless of the character of the life which survives.

The law of the survival of the fittest is not that the fittest is the worthiest, but only that it is best adapted to the conditions under which it struggles for existence.

281. Uncultivated Fruits.—The wild fruits are developed under the operation of this law of natural selection and the survival of the best adapted—the best fitted to the conditions. The improved fruits have been developed from them, not by a violation of the law of the survival of the fittest, but by comprehending the law, and by a more complete obedience to the law, in such a way that the operation of the law itself has been able to produce the marvelous results of conscious selection as applied to the growth of fruits.

282. Uncultivated Grains.—The same is true of improved cereals and of high grades of stock. It has not been by the violation of the law of the survival of the fittest; it has not been by attempting by chance to secure a grade of cattle which will be able to survive under the old environments of neglect and exposure and scanty food, and indiscriminate and promiscuous sex selection. It has been by carefully guarding all these points and creating an environment under which

“In the historical period the Graeco-Latin society struggled for civil equality (the abolition of slavery); it triumphed, but it did not halt, because to live is to struggle; the society of the middle ages struggled for religious equality; it won the battle, but it did not halt; and at the end of the last century it struggled for political equality. Must it now halt and remain stationary in the present state of progress? Today society struggles for economic equality, not for an absolute material equality, but for that more practical, truer equality of which I have already spoken. And all the evidence enables us to foresee with mathematical certainty that this victory will be won to give place to new struggles and to new ideals among our descendants.”—Ferri: *Socialism and Modern Science*, p. 39.

more desirable forms would have an opportunity to survive that such advance has been made possible.

283. Uncultivated Men.—Now, the same is true of human beings. Where capitalistic conditions prevail, there those are most likely to survive who are not troubled by conscientious scruples, who have strong arms, strong brains and hard hearts—conditions where whoever hesitates to strike hard whate'er befall another will strike in vain.

284. Conscious Selection and Socialism.—Is it not possible to be wise enough in the effort to obey this law of life, this doctrine of the survival of the fittest, in the midst of the struggle for existence, where men are involved, to so organize society that under the conditions under which all men shall live, the noble life may be the best fitted to such an environment and so at last have the chance to survive?

In fact, the whole doctrine of the race growth under the struggle for existence teaches to the masses of men that if they are to survive at all, as free men, they will struggle none the less earnestly, while more effectively, by joining hands in using together the machinery, the organization, the resources of nature which singly and alone they cannot use, and which, jointly used, can be used for the benefit of all only under Socialism.

Under Socialism all men may struggle for the attainment of intellectual and social excellences if they will. They can no longer rob each other of the opportunity to live, whether they wish to do so or not. The intelligence of one does not mean that another must be foolish, the strength of one that another must be weak, the beauty of one that another must be ugly, the art of one that another's possessions must be ill-formed, the social joy of one that another must be in distress—in all these the success of one is in no way the result of the failure of any other.

285. Summary.—1. Modern science has destroyed the doctrine of divine authority of social institutions and the doctrine of the lasting obligation of any contract which is in violation of the common good.

2. Modern science has established the fact that social institutions are a natural growth and that to attempt to perpetuate outgrown institutions involves the betrayal of both the present and of the future.

3. Modern science has made great contributions to the equipment and to the improved processes of production. These equipments and processes are of such a nature that the joint use of them is necessary and therefore make production more and more a matter of social and not an individual concern.

4. Sanitary science can never complete its work except on a scale which cannot be undertaken under enterprises conducted for the profit of stockholders in private enterprises.

5. The science of criminology establishes that crimes which are not the result of present social conditions, which must remain so long as capitalism lasts, are the result of mental conditions which can be remedied only by a series of generations under improved conditions—conditions which can come only under Socialism.

6. The law of the survival of the fittest demands that social conditions shall be of such a nature that the worthiest to survive shall also be fitted to the conditions under which they must survive, if at all. The industrial and commercial conditions now are of such a nature that only the unscrupulous and socially unworthy are best fitted to survive under them.

7. Under socialism the struggle for existence where one succeeds at another's loss, will change to a struggle for a better existence in which the achievements of one will not depend on the loss of others.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. What is meant by the word "science"?
2. What are the two points which this chapter seeks to establish?
3. What was formerly held to be the basis of political authority?
4. What was thought of any efforts to improve society?
5. How was it finally discovered that peoples supposed to be acting under divine authority created the same institutions as those supposed to be acting under divine condemnation?
6. How has it been established that to change social forms is not sacrilegious?
7. What other doctrine has succeeded to the place formerly held by the divine right of kings?
8. How does the Constitution of the United States deny the divine right of kings theory and assert the social compact theory in its place?
9. On what ground does the Illinois Trust & Savings Company Bank continue to do business contrary to the provisions of the Constitution of Illinois?
10. If contracts and constitutions do not create social changes, then by what forces are they created?
11. If wickedness and dishonor do not attach to those proposing improvements, to whom do they attach in the times of great social changes?
12. How is modern science related to steel plants, electricity, agriculture and the whole field of industry as related to machinery?
13. Why do these developments require Socialism in order that the benefits may be for all?
14. Why does sanitary science require the coming of Socialism?
15. In what way is the science of criminology related to the coming of Socialism?
16. Does the law of the survival of the fittest support or oppose the proposals of Socialists? Why?

CHAPTER XVIII

MACHINE PRODUCTION AND COLLECTIVISM

286. Aristotle on Machinery.—Aristotle said that slavery could not be abolished without the destruction of society, unless, perhaps, some machine could be devised which could undertake the drudgery of toil. The era of invention has realized the suggestion of Aristotle. Not some machine to take the place of the man, but a multitude of machines, each in its turn either taking the place of the worker altogether, or multiplying his productive powers many fold, have done away with the last possible necessity for destructive human labor.¹

287. Joint Ownership and Use.—But in the creation of this machinery the use of great wealth is necessary,

1. "If every tool, when summoned, or even of its own accord, could do the work that befits it, just as the creations of Daedalus moved of themselves, or the tripods of Hephaestos went of their own accord; if the weavers' shuttles were to weave of themselves, then there would be no need of apprentices for the master workers or slaves for the lords."—Aristotle: *Pol. A*, iv., 4.

"The power capable of being exerted by the steam engines of the world in existence and working in the year 1887 has been estimated by the Bureau of Statistics at Berlin as equivalent to that of 200,000,000 horses, representing approximately 1,000,000,000, or at least three times the working population of the earth, whose total number of inhabitants is probably 1,460,000,000. The application and use of steam up to date (1889) has accordingly more than trebled man's working power, and by enabling him to economize his physical

and, as has been seen in Chapter IX., this great wealth has been provided by the joint possessions or savings of many people. The use of machinery also involves great organizations of workers, and thus machine production is seen to be necessarily associated, or social production. It was impossible that joint production should be carried on without joint interests in production. If joint or collective interest in production had

strength has given him greater leisure, comfort and abundance, and also greater opportunity for the mental training which is essential to a higher development. And yet it is certain that four-fifths of the steam engines now working in the world have been constructed in the last quarter of a century, or since 1865."—Wells: *Recent Economic Changes*, p. 44.

"About the year 1770 began to appear a remarkable series of inventions which ushered in what we may consider the modern era of industrial organization. They included Watt's development of the steam engine to a practical form, and some far-reaching innovations in the processes of the textile manufactures chief among which were the spinning frame and the spinning jenny.

"The immediate practical results of these were highly important. The factory system almost immediately sprang into vigorous life as their first fruits. But still more important was the fact that the process of development thus started has ever since been steadily going on, and generally at a constantly accelerating rate. It is in these closing years of the nineteenth century proceeding with a rapidity and energy never exceeded, and no one who understands the volume of the forces which are operating to produce it would undertake to form the slightest conception of its ultimate limits.

"A century of this process of development produced results almost beyond conception. This century brings us down to the year 1870—a time fresh in the memory of many who still consider themselves young. Of course, these results as embodied in the status of society at this latter period are not difficult of comprehension in a general way. They were in the main the same as those we now see around us. But the vastness of the distance which society had moved in that century, and the magnitude and wonder of the achievement, can only be comprehended after a close study of the details involved—if, indeed, the human mind be at all adequate for such a task. The railroad, steamboat and telegraph; the processes of lithography and photography; the rotary printing press, the Jacquard loom, the Fourdrinier paper machine; the cotton gin, the sewing machine, the reaping machine,—these are but the beginning of the story. They are the striking landmarks of the triumphal progress, known to all the people, and each one of vast importance. But hardly less important in the aggregate than those (and similar other) works of genius, and even more characteristic of the period, is the multitude of minor inventions which were during this century applied to and which powerfully affected every branch of industry. The whole vast aggregate of the forces of production was multiplied many times in effec-

never been suggested before the joint ownership and joint use of the great machines, the joint use of the machinery in the processes of production, and the necessity for a wide market in order to dispose of the goods would have made the suggestion and enforced the necessity for such an arrangement.

288. Co-operation Necessary.—Collectivism was a necessity in the primitive struggle for existence, mainly for reasons of defense. Machine production is a necessity, not so much for defensive reasons as because of its greater productive possibilities. But just as the necessities of defense made primitive man a co-operator, so the advantages of a greater production compel co-operation under the machine.

289. Drudgery Unnecessary.—Under the use of rude tools, each worker could own his own tools and largely use his own products. Association in ownership, in production, or in disposing of the product, was not so necessary as under the use of modern machinery. Personal interest in the struggle for supremacy under capitalism has carried the equipment of labor to a point

tiveness by the children of man's mind, and the machinery which did their bidding at almost every point immeasurably outstripped in speed and deftness the unaided human hand.

"We are all tolerably familiar with the state of things in 1870. Let us painfully try to realize what it was a century before. Strike out, in imagination, the railroad, steamboat, telegraph, and all our modern wonder-workers; bring back the hand-loom and the spinning-wheel; think of the slow canal-boats, and the heavily laden wagons toiling through the muddy roads, as the sole dependence for internal commerce. It is a far cry from that ancient day to this recent one. What shall we say is the difference in productive power between the two systems? How much more could a million men working in the modern way produce than a million workers of the olden times?"

"It is a subject too vast for even an approximate estimate. No man knows, or can know, with any approach to accuracy. We have seen several estimates on this point from trained economists. The smallest comparative value assigned by any one of them to the power of the modern way was five-fold that of the ancient. Inadequate, indeed, this seems to us; the general estimate also is considerably higher—nearer twenty-fold."—Ferris: *Pauperizing the Rich*, pp. 125-127.

where it has attained the greatest efficiency. Just as the machine was necessary to bear the larger share of the drudgery of toil, if human beings were to be delivered from the drudgery of toil, so the greatest perfection of machinery means that the greatest possible deliverance of the toiler from the long hours and hard tasks of productive industry is also possible. This service capitalism has rendered, for under capitalism the equipment of industry not only makes necessary social use, but under capitalism the machinery itself has been brought to great perfection.

290. Machinery and the World-Market.—The machinery has made necessary the foreign market for surplus products, and the search for foreign markets and for cheap raw materials has sounded every sea and has drawn the industrial maps of all the countries of the earth. In this, capitalism has obtained the knowledge of the earth's resources and connected, for the most effective use in this process of production, each separate portion of the earth. The one world-market is being rapidly followed by the one world-organization of industry, by which every natural resource and every advantage of soil and climate will be used to the very best advantage in providing the necessities and comforts of life. All this helps to make unnecessary the brutalizing drudgery of modern industry.

291. Concentration of Private Ownership.—If it had been possible that all these achievements could have been brought about without the concentration of capital in few hands, it would have left great multitudes of people personally interested in the perpetuation of capitalism because of the great numbers of those holding private ownership in the means of production who would then have remained owners under the present order of things.

292. Easy Transition to Collective Ownership.—

Some years ago the problem of the transition from capitalism to Socialism was regarded as a most difficult one, because of the great number of private owners who would be opposed, on account of private interests, to the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth. But capitalism has not only been perfecting and extending the equipment of industry and the knowledge of the wide world's resources; it has also been effecting the concentration which leaves an ever-lessening number of people personally interested in the perpetuation of capitalism, while it increases, by the same ratio, the number of those personally interested, because of personal benefits, in the establishment of Socialism.

293. A Hired Management.—Again this concentration in the ownership of the means of production is perfecting the completest possible organization of the great industries. The capitalist owner can now hire, not only the labor to do the lifting and carrying, but the superintendence of production and the marketing of the products have also become the functions of the "hired man." Under complete capitalism, the capitalist renders no service whatever. Even his service in management at last becomes a hired service.² He

2. "In the factory system the evolution towards parasitism goes its way in open daylight, and under a variety of forms. In proportion as the extension of the market calls for an increase in the scale of production, the more marked becomes the separation of the wage-earners, who are engaged in the actual work of production, from the capitalist master, who retains to himself the task of direction alone. Then comes the moment when those captains of industry delegate their functions to lieutenants, reducing their personal interference in the business to a minimum. One step further and we have the parasitic condition fully achieved; on the one side, work and no property; on the other side, property and no work. Then the workers do not even know who the capitalists are by whom they are exploited, and the exploiters have perhaps never even seen the industrial black-hole or factory of which they are the shareholders."—Massart and Vander-velde: *Parasitism—Organic and Social*, pp. 61-62.

"The origin, development and final decay of the capitalist has a resemblance to the story of the feudal lord. The latter was originally

simply appropriates the lion's share of the products in consideration of having given his consent that the workers may use the earth and the machines in their necessary work of producing the means of life.

294. Labor Organizes According to Industries, Not Tools.—But this is not all. The organizations of labor which formerly were effected along the lines of the trades are taking shape now along the lines of the industries. Formerly all organized workingmen who used the same tools belonged to the same labor organizations without regard to the nature of the industry in which they were employed. The present movement is in the direction of effecting an organization of all workingmen engaged in any industry, regardless of the tools used by the individual workers so employed. By this is meant that all the men in any way connected with transportation are coming rapidly into a single organization; all those engaged in any way in the building trades, into a single organization; all those engaged in any way in the distribution of goods through the great department stores, into another great single organization. All this is brought about by the necessity of all those who work for the same employers belonging to the same organization, in order most effectively to deal with their own common employer or association of employers with interests in common.

elected by his fellow tribesmen to lead them in battle, and on returning to camp or village sank back into equality with the rest. In the course of time the office of leader like that of shoemaker, armorer and priest, became hereditary; finally, the functions of the baron, once real and necessary ones, disappeared. The name "duke" is derived from a verb meaning "to lead," but the modern duke leads nothing more important than a cotillion, while his secretary prepares his grace's speech for the House of Lords and the hired steward is collecting his grace's rents from the people whose ancestors his grace's ancestors plundered. So with the modern capitalist, whose function has disappeared and who now may spend his time in playing at yacht races, or with automobiles, while his hired manager and the professional "promoter" take care of the functions that used to occupy the time of his predecessor, the original captain of industry."—F. P. O'Hare.

295. Beginning of Future Forms of Organization.

—But this new form of the organization of labor which the necessity of the situation is bringing into existence is rapidly bringing into existence the very identical industrial organizations which will be most likely to operate the great industries under Socialism. But under capitalism they do the work with no legal standing in the right of management or in the power to appropriate the products of their own labor. These organizations cannot long continue to deal with every separate branch of their own industries without making the discovery that they can conduct these industries without the useless existence and needless exploitation of the private owners of the means of production. It is impossible for the industrial organizations of labor to long continue to do all the necessary work of production in any great industry without making the discovery that they may as well use their power as citizens to equip themselves as workers.

296. Industrial Developments in the Government.—

Responding to this regular and orderly development of industry and commerce, the general government is rapidly specializing its functions more and more in the direction of industrial and commercial organization. The Department of Agriculture, the Department of Industry and Commerce and its Land Department, are all of the nature of purely administrative activities of the economic interests of all the people. Departments of transportation, of mines and mining, of textile manufacturing, of stock-growing and dairying, of forestry, of fisheries, and of foreign trade, all find the germs of their speedy development among the subdivisions of the government departments already in existence.

297. Labor Organizations and the Departments.—

When the government, responding to the normal and

inevitable development of the public interest in transportation, shall have organized a department devoted to transportation, and the workingmen employed in transportation are once completely organized into one great industrial union, it will be found impossible to divert the political activities of such a union from an effort to control that branch of the government directly connected with its own industry. But the same industrial developments, out from the forms of labor organization on the one hand, and out from governmental activities on the other hand, and toward each other, are making their appearance, not only in transportation, but in all lines of industrial life.

298. Labor Organizations and Political Power.—The culmination of capitalism, as related to any industry, turns that industry, management and all, over to the "hired men." The culmination of the labor organization must finally bring into one organization all the workers employed in any single industry, regardless of the kind of tools or the nature of the tasks involved. The necessary response of the political authorities to the economic activities of the people creates government departments, corresponding both to the forms of the organization of the industry and to the forms of the organization of labor. The workers discover that they are doing all the world's work independent of the private owners. Inevitably they are led to use their political power to capture the control of that department of government related to their own industry and then to extend its functions in their own behalf.

299. Transforming the Government.—Let this happen in many industries and the workers will not only become the political masters but they will transform the character of the government's activities, from the current military and monopolistic maladministration

of public affairs for the private benefit of the few, to purely administrative, industrial functions in behalf of all. The same forces which will then rule in the organizations of labor will also rule in the affairs of the state. The very center and soul of the labor organizations is collectivism, democracy and equality. With their coming into place and power, the current social revolution will be complete. Government plutocracy will have been ousted and will have been succeeded by industrial democracy—which is Socialism.

300. The Evolution of Socialism.—Hence it is seen that Socialism also has its origin in the great modern machinery. Every step in the perfection of the great machines and of the industrial and commercial organizations of the private owners of the machines and every step in the creation of labor organizations, along the lines of the great industrial groups, which the use of the great machines makes necessary, are steps in the development of Socialism.

Nothing but machine production could have brought about such a situation. The growth of the hand sickle and the flail into the great harvester; the growth of the carrying trail of savagery into the great systems of modern transportation; the growth of the devices for making cloth from the finger-twisted threads of the earliest workers into the modern factory, are all steps in the development of Socialism.

The organization of the partnership, then the corporation, then the trust, then the world-trust and finally the federation of all the trusts, while they are steps in the development of capitalism, even capitalism is here seen to be the forerunner of Socialism. Therefore, they, too, are steps in the development of Socialism.

Without capitalism the organization of collectivism, democracy and equality, in the struggle for existence,

under the great machine, which makes unnecessary the further drudgery of toil, would have been most difficult, if not impossible.

With the great machinery, the coming of Socialism is simply the further adjustment of the forms of society to the improved processes by which the race provides for its own existence.³

301. Summary.—1. Industrial drudgery is made unnecessary by the great machines.

2. Organized ownership and organized labor are both made inevitable by the great machines.

3. The transition to collective ownership of the means of producing the means of life is made certain and easy by the concentration of industry caused by the great machines.

4. Labor is organizing along the lines of the various industries and so is developing organizations which will be able to operate the industries without the capitalists.

5. The government more and more organizes industrial departments which in the end will compel the

3. "Since the advent of civilization the outgrowth of property has been so immense, its forms so diversified, its uses so expanding and its management so intelligent in the interests of its owners, that it has become, on the part of the people, an unmanageable power. The human mind stands bewildered in the presence of its own creation. The time will come nevertheless when human intelligence will rise to the mastery over property and define the relations of the state to the property it protects as well as the obligations and the limits of the rights of its owners. The interests of society are paramount to individual interests and the two must be brought into just and harmonious relations. A mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been of the past. The time which has passed away since civilization began is but a fragment of the past duration of man's existence; and but a fragment of the ages yet to come. The dissolution of society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim; because such a career contains the elements of self-destruction. Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education, equally foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending. It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes." * * *

—Morgan: *Ancient Society*, p. 552.

workers to control the government in order to control their own interests as workers as represented in these government departments.

6. The control of the workers in the affairs of the government will enforce collectivism, democracy and equality throughout all political and industrial affairs.

7. This whole order of advance not only leads to Socialism, but could not have been brought about except through the order of capitalistic development, which is, therefore, the forerunner of Socialism.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Quote Aristotle.
2. Need human labor be destructive of human life?
3. What followed the introduction of the great machines?
4. Why is co-operation necessary under the use of the great machines?
5. Why does collective ownership become easy and certain under the use of the great machines?
6. How does the capitalist finally become an entirely useless factor in production?
7. What is the most recent development in the organization of labor unions?
8. How do the great industries become related to the administration of government?
9. Why will the new form of industrial organizations be more likely to seek political power?
10. Are there any indications of the beginning of the forms of organizations of labor which are likely to operate the great industries in the future?
11. How will the industrial activities of the workers, when they become the supreme political authority of the country, affect the government?
12. What will mark the completion of the current social revolution?

CHAPTER XIX

UTOPIAS, COLONIES, CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

302. Dreams Which Nations Dream.—The ideals which have finally grown into the proposals of the Socialists were voiced by prophets, poets and dreamers long centuries before the industrial and economic conditions were so developed as to make inevitable the coming into actual life and form of these dreams of the dreamers. It is said that the dreams which nations dream come true. It is certain that these dreams of the long past were grounded on real and lasting factors in human life.

It would be easy to sneer at the ancestry of scientific Socialism, but these dreams and hopes were really dreamed about and hoped for, and even this dreaming and hoping are a part of the facts which scientific students of the subject of Socialism must not ignore.

The first efforts to put into working form the proposals of the Socialists were in the form of utopian pictures. The first efforts in modern times to organize living workers into productive bodies for the mutual

benefit of the workers only were made by co-operative colonies.

303. Communism and Socialism.—The word Socialism was first made and used as referring to the plans and purposes of these colonies. Communism is a term older than Socialism. The manifesto of the Socialists of 1848, which first gave any adequate expression to Socialism as a world-wide movement, urging the working men of all countries to unite, was published under the title of the "Communist Manifesto," and is still known by that name. Notwithstanding this, Socialism has come to refer to the proposal to provide for the joint ownership and joint administration of productive property only, and that on at least a national basis, while communism has come to refer to the proposal to jointly own and administer both the things of public and of private use, and this usually within small groups and on limited territory.

304. Primeval Survivals.—The utopian dreams are so old as to suggest that they may have come to us as survivals of the primeval brotherhoods, seeking to adjust themselves to the successive environments of the various stages of man's industrial advance. Plato's "Republic" was among the earliest of these pictures and he says in his introduction that his work was suggested by a visit to the ceremonies of a dedication by one of the Grecian Trade Unions, and there can be little doubt that these very ancient organizations of workers were direct survivals from or reversions to the more ancient tribal organizations.

Augustine's "Holy City," Bacon's "Atlantis," More's "Utopia," and Bellamy's "Looking Backward" were pictures which have been frequently mistaken for detail drawings and specifications by which actually to build the new civilization.

305. A New Defense for Old Proposals.—The one

thing which marks the transition from these utopian efforts to the propaganda of the scientific Socialists is the difference in the basis of the reasoning of the advocates of the older and the newer schools. The principles of collectivism, democracy and equality had all been declared for and defended, for centuries before the formulation and defense of the doctrines of scientific Socialism. In more recent years it had been attempted to introduce these principles into the government of industries, but the reasons assigned for doing so and the plans proposed were not based on the new philosophy of evolution.¹

The change in the method of defense of these principles involved in the proposed reorganization of industry was not more marked than in other fields of thought. The coming into scientific discussions of the evolutionary philosophy at once re-stated the grounds of defense for all sorts of positions, in philosophy, in religion, in morals, in politics, and in economics, in conformity to this new method of procedure. The controversies between the old Socialists and the new ones were not more marked and were not so bitter as in religion, in the sciences, and in the general philosophy of history.

The whole field of thought has been deeply affected, but the new philosophy which the evolutionist has taught reinforces the proposals of the Socialists, and gives a defense so rational and so conclusive, so directly emphasizing the whole theory of the struggle for existence and the survival of those forms best adapted to the conditions under which the struggle

1. "There was, then, a political economy among the ancients as there is among the moderns; not a systematic and formulated political economy, but one arising from facts, and practiced before being written. Such has been, moreover, the course of all sciences since the origin of society. The first comers conceive and execute; the later ones reason and improve and complete the work of their predecessors."—Blanqui: *History of Political Economy*, p. 26.

goes on, that few indeed are the advocates of Socialism who would think of employing any other form of defense.

306. Before the Doctrine of Evolution.—Before the teaching of the evolutionary philosophy the proposals of the Socialists had been presented as the wise plans of some philanthropist, and naturally on lines of enterprise sufficiently limited to be within the reasonable enterprise of some such benefactor. They were not presented as the necessary result of preceding conditions, nor as the necessary outgrowth of industrial development. Again, the industrial revolution centralized and equipped industry on so large a scale as to suggest the collective ownership and democratic use of the means of production, and therefore helped to transfer the foundations of the argument from philanthropic ideals to economic causes.

307. On a Small Scale.—The early Socialists tried to establish co-operative organizations which should exemplify the new co-operative commonwealth on a small scale. Their idea was that the new commonwealth would be made up of a number of such unrelated local enterprises. These enterprises were not undertaken as a means by which modern Socialism could be established. They were undertaken before scientific Socialism had been formulated. These experiments are widely confounded with Socialism, and this is largely true, because the word Socialism was first applied to such enterprises before Socialism was itself developed into its present form. Socialism is no longer a dream or a picture, however beautiful, nor a proposal to build with pictures drawn in perspective as detail drawings.²

2. "The spread of productive co-operation would not be, it is true, in principle a socialistic organization; for associations of this type would still be only competitive business, the latest development of the capitalistic principle. * * * The socialistic state will not be

308. Service of the Utopians.—It must not be understood that because the utopian pictures were not building-plans and detail-drawings that therefore they were valueless. They were valueless as building models, but as a means of attacking outgrown industrial and commercial institutions and usages, and of arousing the interest and fixing the attention of those who are without interest in such matters, it is difficult to conceive of a better method than to begin with a story which teaches, while it entertains, and is able to teach because it is able to entertain. The harm comes when the poetic and literary work of a dreamer is attacked or defended as if it were written not to arouse and enthuse for battle but to take the place of marching orders. One may enjoy poetry and be deeply moved and helped by it without adopting the habit of speaking only in rhyme.³

realized till there remains only collective property in the instruments of social production. This must be borne in mind in order to understand the luke-warmness of the clearest heads among the socialists toward petty co-operative associations of a Schulze, and toward the question of profit-sharing among workmen toward the labor bureaus of the liberal state and toward the equally anarchical system of independent productive groups (such as are suggested by the anarchist), with their associated capital held together by no bond of union, but meeting on the bare footing of contract. Such enterprises are based on the competition of separate capital; they have a disjointed system of production; they presuppose always an anarchical struggle of private interests (between employers and employed, between earnest and idle workers, between co-operators and non-co-operators, between shrewdly managed social productive societies successful in their speculations and unsuccessful competing associations). The clear-sighted socialist, as is well known approves these only in so far as they draw closer the connection of the worker with the means of production, and advance the growth of a consciousness of collective interests; for the rest, he shrugs his shoulders at them.

"Marx was indifferent or even averse to these 'reforms.' Socialism demands that there shall be collective ownership in the means of production; then, and then only, will it be possible to effect, in due proportion to labor, the assignment of incomes and private property in the means of enjoyment."—Schaeffle: *The Quintessence of Socialism*, pp. 21, 62-3.

3. "I propose only to offer a few suggestions regarding your study of Socialist literature.

"First. Socialism like any other great and momentous scheme, is

309. Benefits of Co-operation.—Again, it must not be understood that co-operative enterprises have rendered no service and that because they are not instances of concrete Socialism that therefore they are to be condemned.

The last census of the United States (1900) shows that the average per capita property for the whole people of the United States was one thousand dollars, but at the same time the average within co-operative organizations was three thousand dollars. In the case of those not in the co-operative organizations it was very unequally divided, most people being without visible property, while within the organizations all members had equal ownership.

Again, the standard of living within the organizations has been very much higher than without. There are eighty such organizations in the United States, some of them more than one hundred years old, representing a population of many thousand people who are the possessors, and who use co-operatively, productive property worth many millions of dollars.

310. Co-operative Stores.—The co-operative stores of Great Britain, France and Belgium have grown to be great institutions. Co-operative production in shops, owned and managed by the workers themselves, is also carried on both in England and America, and with marked success. While none of these are illustra-

entitled to be judged by its latest and its best word; not to be derided for the crudities and absurdities of its early advocates. * * *

"Second. Socialism as a subject under debate by great thinkers, is not to be confounded with the Utopias of a few individuals like Mr. Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, or Dr. Hertzka's later *Freeland*. The great Socialists themselves have generally declined to offer any definite detailed scheme for the government control of production and distribution; and in this they have kept within their right. *

* * * Inasmuch as they only indicate what appear to them general tendencies of society they have a right to say, "We do not know just where, just when, just how all this will issue."—Walker: *Discussions in Economics and Statistics*, Vol. II., p. 294-5.

See also Schaeffle: *Quintessence of Socialism*, Chapters I., II.

tions of Socialism, yet they all tend to demonstrate the great economy in co-operative production and distribution, and what is of more consequence, the ability of the people to effectively organize and direct great industrial and commercial democracies, and are therefore of importance in the study of the development of Socialism.

311. Co-operative Communities.—It is a frequent saying that co-operative colonies are doomed to failure—that they have always failed. This is not true. A much larger percentage of the enterprises undertaken under capitalism with no co-operative features fail than of those which are co-operative. Most capitalistic enterprises fail even after they have been long established and in operation. Nearly all of the co-operative colonies which have failed have failed in the effort to make a beginning.

But there are particular difficulties which stand in the way of the success of these co-operative enterprises which ought to be mentioned in this connection.

312. Chances for Unity.—1. They are usually made up of men who, having been continually victimized by capitalistic employers, have formed the habit of looking with suspicion upon those who have special training or experience in the management of business matters. This habit follows them into the co-operative organizations and makes it very difficult, if not impossible, for the workers to act continuously and effectively as a unit.

313. Waiting for Returns.—2. Again, whoever works for wages for a long time, receiving pay every Saturday night, is likely to find it very difficult to bear a share in enterprises where one must wait a long time for returns. It is not an easy thing for one who has never been obliged to wait more than thirty days for the next pay day to wait for an annual harvest. Such

enterprises are usually undertaken with scant capital, and it is not only waiting for a harvest, but frequently for many years of privation, before the days of plenty can arrive. It has been everywhere observed that a farmer who goes to the frontier to grow up with the country is much more likely to stay by the country until it grows up than one whose previous engagements have never trained him to wait for the harvest. It is these men who have their training as wage-workers and who cannot wait for the harvest who are likely to have the controlling voice in managing enterprises which, in the nature of the case, can rarely succeed except after years of waiting.

314. Under Suspicion.—3. It would seem that such a co-operative enterprise would have the sympathy and support of those who are workers in the neighborhood where it is undertaken, but this is not the case. The workers in such an organization are sure to be misunderstood by their neighbors, and, most of all, by the people of their own class. It is hard for anyone to make a beginning among strangers. It is found particularly hard by co-operative organizations, inasmuch as, in spite of themselves, they are sure to fill the neighbors with prejudices against themselves long before they can have a chance to prove their integrity and usefulness as good citizens by their conduct and their industry.

315. Enmity of the Courts.—4. The law permits the organization of co-operative enterprises, and under the common law the rules and regulations established by such an organization have the force of a contract and become a part of the law which the courts are set to enforce; but while the law permits the organization of co-operative enterprises, both in the letter and in the spirit of the law, those who are set to enforce the laws are the agents of those who are opposed, on gen-

eral principles, to co-operative undertakings and have no regard for the "binding force of contracts" when used by workers who are trying to live in the world and to escape any share of the service which capitalism exacts from all who toil.

It is rare, indeed, that a co-operative association can secure justice, or even a hearing, to say nothing of a just decision, before any court which will be permitted to exist so long as capitalism is permitted to control.

The story of any co-operative colony reported to have failed is usually a long and dreary narrative of the attacks of the courts established to protect life and to make secure property in the possession of those to whom it belongs; but which courts were used instead for the purpose of defaming the character and taking away the property of industrious people, who, because they were not serving the interests which had elected the court, were treated as if they were without rights before the court.

316. Bishop Hill.—The Bishop Hill property in Illinois, now worth many millions, was thirty years in control of the courts, while the people who owned it were not permitted to use their own property in their own way.

317. Ruskin Colony.—The Ruskin Colony in Tennessee is another case where a receivership took possession of the property of the association under the pretense of defending property rights, and while the court robbed the whole group it refused to permit the workers to settle on any terms with the complainants and to retain and use their own property.

318. Kaweah Colony.—The Kaweah Colony in California settled on public lands, built a road costing a quarter of a million of dollars, made good their title before special land commissioners appointed by the government, and then, without a hearing, their land

was declared a public park by act of Congress and the people driven by United States troops from the wealth their hands had created and the colony advertised as a failure. The advertisement, to be complete, should have outlined the process by which capitalism, at least in this case, was made such a pronounced success.

The author of these pages worked for seven years in various efforts of this kind. Twice he saw a court refuse to examine the terms of agreement under which an association was acting and proceed to dispose of the property of the defendant association without even hearing a statement of the case before the court.

319. Greatest Enterprises Out of Reach.—5. Again, the great tools of modern industry are railways, banks, stores, great manufacturing enterprises, where many thousands of people are employed in single lines of industry under a single management, with limitless capital, perfect equipment and the best possible organization. These are the great tools with which modern industry is carried on. Small groups of workers cannot possibly own, and could not operate if they did own, these great enterprises. Whatever their plans, they cannot include the operation of these great industries; but without a share in these they must remain dependent upon the forces which control these great enterprises whenever they come into the market to dispose of whatever their labor may produce, or to purchase from the market such articles as they may need and cannot manufacture.

320. An Unequal Battle.—6. Again, the capitalistic enterprises are engaged in a terrific warfare with each other. Nothing is so characteristic of the present time as is this warfare by which great enterprises are clearing the field of their small competitors, and, as they face each other, going into bankruptcy or going into the trusts. The methods by which this warfare be-

tween the great corporations is being carried on are familiar. One corporation will get control of the sources upon which another corporation depends for the credit by the use of which it is able to carry on its business. Many a corporation has destroyed a competitor, not by underselling him, but by securing a position on the board of directors in the bank where the competitor discounted his paper, in order to refuse the accommodations at the bank on which the competitor depended for his existence.

The control of patents which the competitor must use, the control of raw materials which the competitor must have, the control of transportation upon which the competitor depends, are all methods well known in the industrial warfare and used every hour in the process by which the corporations are destroying each other, or in the face of which they avoid destruction by consenting to combination in the form of a trust.

Now, a co-operative organization competing in the same market with the trust will not only be unable to secure control of the banks, the patents, the raw materials or the transportation, but because of the very nature of the organization it cannot hope to become effective in the use of such methods in the struggle for maintaining a place for itself in the trust-ruled market.

The capitalistic competitor will hold his organization closely in hand, can keep his own counsel, and will be able to wield his full strength without delay, without a division in his own ranks and with the skill of long experience. The co-operative organization competing with the trust is unable to keep its own secrets, to act without delay, will always act with divided counsel and without skill or experience in such a contest.

321. World-Wide Conflict.—7. The capitalistic organization is international. The ordinary co-operative colony would count itself successful if it were able

to absorb the industry and enterprise of a single township. Townships cannot cope with continents in this industrial warfare. The master of the co-operative township cannot hope to become the master of the capitalistic continent. In such a conflict the continent will control.

322. Co-operative Organization a Public Function.

—The fact is that in all these enterprises the principal thing which the co-operative organization is undertaking to do is to perform certain functions which belong to the whole body of society. The earth belongs to all mankind. No man can justly hold a claim against it outlasting his own lifetime. No human being was ever given his life on earth without at the same time being given his right to the use of the earth and all its productive powers in order to maintain his life while here; but the great body whose duty it is to see that dead hands let go and that the feeble hands of children shall be able to find their place and to hold their own is not a small group, not a fraternity, nor a brotherhood, nor a co-operative society, nor a colony. It is neither the people of a township nor of a continent. That is a function which belongs to the whole race and whatever group of people attempts to perform this function is assuming to do that which the whole body of society alone has the right and the power to do. To be sure, so long as society refuses to do its duty, individuals and groups of individuals will continue to do the best they can.

323. Socialists and Co-Operators.—Socialism is not committed to opposition to co-operative associations, shops or stores, or colonies, as compared with unadulterated capitalism. It should be borne in mind that the capitalist is doomed to destruction by capitalism as well as the co-operator. Whatever is built on that foundation, whether by capitalism, pure and simple, or

by co-operators, acting under capitalism and as competitors with capitalism, can never deliver us from capitalism nor show on any scale what industry and trade would be without capitalism. Socialists are by instinct co-operators. Just as the Socialist movement came up through its utopian period of development, the individual is not unlikely to take the same route and become a co-operator first and a Socialist afterward. The co-operator who has grown to be a Socialist may be no less a co-operator while capitalism lasts than before he learned the larger lesson of the co-operative commonwealth.⁴

324. All Corporations Perform Public Functions.—

It should be remembered further that every corporation is attempting to perform a public function as well as are the co-operative societies. This is not only a theory of the Socialists, but it is a fact, recognized in the courts and established in the forms of law. The corporation is a public body created by the public and has the right to exist solely and only because it serves the public. When it serves the public badly, or when the public can find a better way for securing the same service, or when the public can perform the service without the corporation, the corporation, which has no right to exist except for the public welfare, under such circumstances forfeits its right to exist at all.⁵

4. "But whatever Socialism may have meant in the past its real significance now is the steady expansion of representative self-government into the industrial sphere. This industrial democracy it is, and not any ingenious Utopia, with which individualists, if they desire to make any effectual resistance to the substitution of collective for individual will must attempt to deal."—Webb: *Problems of Modern Industry*, p. 252.

5. "Sentimental Socialism has furnished some attempts at utopian construction, but the modern world of politics has presented and does present still more of them with the ridiculous and chaotic mess of laws and codes which surround every man from his birth to his death, and even before he is born and after he is dead, in an inextricable network of codes, laws, decrees and regulations which stifle him like

325. A Township Against a Continent.—If the co-operative commonwealth is to be inaugurated, it will not be done by capturing a township and using that to capture a continent; it will be done by capturing the political authority of the whole body of society. The corporations which have assumed public functions are able to continue to serve society badly, to use the machinery of industry and commerce to injure rather than to benefit, because they control the political authority of the whole body of society. It is not by their activity in business, but because they supplement their mastery in the market with their mastery at the ballot box.

The workers are helpless in the market, but their voice is the supreme authority at the ballot box. Successful co-operation in the market still leaves the co-operators the easy victims of the capitalists who wield the public authority. Successful co-operation on the part of the workers at the ballot box will make them the masters of the shops and markets and will leave no power able to withstand them while they build the co-operative commonwealth.

326. The Evolution of Socialism.—All co-operative efforts help to hasten the coming of Socialism. They have been an important factor in the evolution of Socialism. So far as they have succeeded they have suggested the greater possibilities of the co-operative commonwealth. So far as they have failed they have emphasized the class antagonisms which so largely have been the cause of their failures. They have hastened the more general comprehension of scientific Socialism and have deepened the determination of great

the silk-worm in the cocoon."—Ferri: *Socialism and Modern Science*, p. 131.

"To this revolutionary idealism we must all cling fast, then, come what will, we can bear the heaviest, attain the highest, and remain worthy of the great historical purpose that awaits us."—Kautsky: *Social Revolution*, p. 102.

numbers of people to stand fast to the end in the wider encounter.⁶

327. Summary.—1. Utopian literature has been a great factor in economic and social discussions.

2. The word Socialism was first applied to the theories advanced in defense of co-operative colonies or communities, and was afterward applied to the doctrines of Socialism as afterward developed; while the word "Communism" came to apply to efforts to jointly administer living expenses as well as the means of production.

3. Utopian Socialism was developed before the theory of evolution was taught, and hence makes no use of the scientific defense of its proposals. Scientific Socialism is simply the proposals of collectivism, democracy and equality, defended by the use of the scientific arguments developed by the application of the theory of evolution to the domain of economics.

4. Utopian Socialism, taking no account of the scientific defense of Socialism, does not present the economic struggle as one between economic classes acting under the general doctrine of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. Scientific Socialism practically rests its case on the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest as applied to the industrial development.

5. Utopian Socialism aspires after a juster and fairer industrial condition and has frequently attempted to realize such a condition by setting up a model on a small scale to show the world how it would work.

6. "As for the statesmen themselves, nothing further need here be said. The whole of this work has been an attempted demonstration of the illusions into which they have fallen by taking their stand on what can be seen through the keyhole of the present alone, and in consequence mistaking for political ends what, had they given themselves a greater length of line as perspective, they would have seen to be temporary political means merely."—Crozier: *History of Intellectual Development*, Vol. III., p. 227.

Scientific Socialism denies that the Socialist state can be established in spots, in advance of the economic development, or until the economic development reaches the stage in which Socialism will be the regular scientific survival in the conflict between the economic interests which will be best served by Socialism and the economic interests now served by capitalism, and that when that stage is reached Socialism must come or world-wide disaster will be the inevitable result.⁷

6. Co-operative societies, colonies and manufacturing and commercial enterprises, have all established by actual experience, first, the practicability of democratic management; and secondly, the very great advantage of co-operative endeavor on a small scale, as compared with small enterprises carried on under competition.

7. It is very difficult to secure the otherwise possible advantages of co-operative organization under

7. "Revolution simply means that the evolution of society has reached the point where a complete transformation, both external and internal, has become immediately inevitable. No man and no body of men can make such a revolution before the time is ripe for it; though, as men become conscious instead of unconscious agents in the development of the society in which they live and of which they form a part they may themselves help to bring about this revolution. A successful revolution, whether effected in the one way or the other, merely gives legal expression and sanction to the new forms which, for the most part unobserved or disregarded, have developed in the womb of the old society. Force may be used at the end of the period as during the incubative and full growth. It is true, as Marx said, that force is the mid-wife of progress delivering the old society pregnant with the new; but on the other hand, force is also the abortionist of reaction, doing its utmost to strangle the new society in the womb of the old. Force itself, on either side, is merely a detail in that inevitable growth which none can very rapidly advance or seriously hinder."—Hyndman: *Economics of Socialism*, p. 4.

"One nation can and should learn from others. And even when a society has got upon the right track for the discovery of the natural laws of its movement—and it is the ultimate aim of this work to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society—it can neither clear by bold leaps, nor remove by legal enactments, the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development. But it can shorten and lessen the birth pangs."—Marx: *Capital*, preface to first edition, p. 19.

capitalism, because of the inexperience in management on the part of the workers, the prejudice of the public, the long waiting for returns and the determined opposition of capitalistic society, which controls and uses the courts of law to interfere with and to destroy such undertakings.

8. Co-operative enterprises cannot get control of the great shops, factories, mines, railways, banks and storehouses; but these are the principal means of modern production and exchange, and are in possession and control of capitalism.

9. Capitalism uses all these forces to destroy co-operative enterprises.

10. The workers are the masters at the ballot box. If they will stand together there, they can use the power of the state to take possession and control of all the great enterprises, and the others will follow. It is easier to capture a continent by Socialism than a township by co-operative undertakings committed to the spread of Socialism. The continent will include the township. The township, if won, would be but a temporary victory. The continent would in the end control.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. In what way is the origin of the word Socialism related to the co-operative communities?

2. Define communism and Socialism as related to each other.

3. In what way is the utopian literature related to the beginning of the agitation for Socialism?

4. Are these writings valuable in propaganda work, and if so, why?

5. What services have co-operative enterprises rendered regardless of their relations to Socialism?

6. Are such enterprises more likely to be failures than those without co-operative features?

7. Name some particular difficulties in the way of co-operative enterprises.

8. Can co-operative enterprises take advantage of the greatest tools of modern industry?

9. State relations of modern corporations to each other and give

reasons why co-operative organizations are at a disadvantage in the midst of these competitive encounters.

10. Why is the work of a co-operative society or colony an assumption of public functions?

11. Is the same true of private corporations?

12. How have co-operative undertakings helped in the evolution of Socialism?

CHAPTER XX

THE GROWTH OF THE SENSE OF SOLIDARITY OF THE RACE

328. Tribal Solidarity.—During the primitive life of the race there was no sense of the common race life, neither was there any sufficient appreciation of the individual. The life of primitive man was limited by ignorance and ruled by fear. The slight organization which was possible was little above the animal plane. There was no realization of anything like a world-life or a race-life. The stranger, whether man or beast, was regarded but a brute. The man outside the tribe was not understood to have any claim to existence, or to sustain any relations whatever to those belonging to the tribe or clan. The members of the tribe were conscious of the tribal life. In fact, the tribal life was the real life of primitive man.

329. Absence of the Individual.—While his life did not go beyond the tribe as recognizing any human relations between himself and any others not belonging to his own group, it never stopped short of the tribe to consider sufficiently the individual as of any consequence for his own sake.

330. A Completer Individuality.—The development of the individual was made possible only by the ad-

vance of society, and society has advanced only as its activities have tended to the further development of the individual. There is no such thing as a real social advance which does not manifest itself in a completer individuality. And there can be no such thing as a great individuality which does not at the same time manifest itself in efforts tending toward the social growth.¹

Every advance in the life of the individual is reflected in a corresponding advance in the life of society; and every real improvement in the life of society is reflected in a corresponding improvement in the selfhood of the individual. When selfishness is attacked it is that element in selfishness which is also meanness. When selfishness is defended it is not the meanness which any one would attempt to defend. It is the selfhood without which there can never be either a great manhood or a great society.

331. Primitive Ignorance of Earth and Man.—The primitive man was ignorant of all the world which he could not cover by his own travels. He was ignorant of all social institutions which did not belong to his own group. Beyond the reach of his own vision his fears had peopled the plains, forests and seas with monstrosities which really only existed as the creations of his frightened imagination. In the midst of the beasts of prey and of human strangers deadlier than the beasts themselves, he could not exist except in groups. There was no race-life possible. The achievement of any sense of a solidarity of interest, or sympathy, or of life as wide as the race, could only be

1. "Not only is it impossible to achieve personal moral growth aside from the community; this personal strength being gained, gives at once the conditions of successfully combined action. The objections to organic effort in society fall to the ground just in the degree in which men attain private virtue. Nothing can withhold men from the collective use of their collective powers, any more than from the private use of their private powers."—Bascom: *Sociology*, p. 252.

effected by the creation of conditions and by the operation of forces which could awaken in him a consciousness, not only of his relations to the wider life of the race, but at the same time awaken and reveal to himself the possibilities of his own personality.

332. World Conquest and Race Solidarity.—The earliest movement towards the world-life was the wars between the tribes, which finally resulted in world-wide conquest. Man was first able to realize something like a vital connection between the individual within the tribe and the whole race without and beyond the tribe, as the result of this world-wide conquest, which compelled him, as a single personality, to surrender to the single central authority established as the result of the militarism of the ancient world.

333. The Great Religions.—The great religions followed closely upon the heels of conquest. It is impossible to understand what is in man, or to follow the story of social development, and ignore the part which the great religions of the world have had in the great movements of the race. Whatever abuses may have attached to ecclesiastical organizations, every effort undertaken by any group of men to convert other groups of men to the religion of their own group has been an effort which has tended to create a sense of the unity of the race.

The great world religions, moving and guiding the thought of whole continents and races, and for generations together, in the effort to bring others under their sway, have had no small share in teaching the lesson of the oneness of the race. The Christian religion is particularly and has always been a religion of missionaries. Where the missionaries have gone, trade has followed; or where trade has gone and the missionary followed, with the direct result of making trade more profitable, there a new force has at once been set to

work in revealing to man the fact of a common human life.

334. Into All Nations to Trade With Them.—The earliest advance toward a sense of a wider life came to the tribe when it crossed a river or a mountain range to fight with the neighboring tribes. But going into all nations in order to trade with them has broken down prejudices and race hatreds, and has revealed to all men a common interest and common life, and has enforced that common interest and that common life to a degree never before possible. The same wants, the same means of support, the same appetites and passions, the same ambitions, the same hopes and fears, the same aspirations, the same hopelessness in the face of blight, or plague, or storm, the same cruelty in strife and the same tenderness of parental regard—all are revealed by trade, by the interchange of goods, as the common lot of all men and in all lands. The silks, the spices, the cotton and woolen goods, the rubber, the tea, the coffee, the items which make up our own simple daily fare—have they not come from all races and from everywhere? They come with the touch of the life upon them which made them ready for our use, and, as we use them, we mingle with and become conscious of this common life of all.²

335. Modern Industry.—Modern industry has brought great armies of men into single organizations

2. "Thus the citizen in a modern municipality no longer produces his own food or makes his own clothes; no longer protects his own life or property; no longer fetches his own water; no longer removes his own refuse or even disinfects his own dwelling. He no longer educates his own children or doctors and nurses his own invalids."—Webb: *Industrial Democracy*, Vol. II., p. 846.

"For I repeat, the excellence of the social state does not lie in the fullness with which wealth is produced and accumulated, but in the fact that it is so distributed as to give the largest comfort and the widest hope to the general mass of those whose continued efforts constitute the present industry of the nation and the abiding prospect of its future well being."—Rogers: *Work and Wages*, p. 573.

under single management. They work together at the same tasks, are answerable to the same authority; depend for their opportunity to live upon the same conditions; have learned the necessity of organization in order to withstand aggressions on the part of their employers, and so have learned a sense of common interest and common life. All the workers of the world are coming into this common relation to each other and are learning that there is no deliverance for any of them from capitalism anywhere, except all workers shall act together in the deliverance of all. In the beginning they were conscious of tribal relations. Afterwards they became conscious of national relations. The instinct of nationality has made workers of different countries enemies to each other. They have seen no reason why the workers of one land should not consent to the oppression and starvation of the workers of other lands, provided that in so doing markets for themselves were made secure and employment regular and profitable.

But international trade and the world-wide organization of industry is making the workers race conscious as well as class conscious, and will rapidly establish this race consciousness as the strongest factor in the political activity of the workers everywhere.³

3. "If we announce that we will remove the present class state, then in order to meet the objections of our opponents we must also say that the social democracy, while it contends against the class state through the removal of the present form of production, will destroy the class struggle itself. Let the means of production become the possession of the community; then the proletariat is no longer a class—as little as the bourgeoisie; then classes will cease; there will remain only society, a society of equals—true human society, mankind and humanity.

"For that reason it has been stated in the plainest manner that we should not substitute one class rule for another. Only malice and thoughtlessness could incidentally put such a wrong construction on our meaning, for in order to rule, in order to be able to exercise rule, I must have possession in the means of production. My private property in the means of production is the preliminary condition for rule, and socialism removes personal private property in the means of production. Rule and exploitation in every form must be done away with, man be-

336. Vital Race Relationships.—Again, modern science has discovered and emphasized the oneness of all life. Not only are all living beings in some way interdependent, but all life which is has been derived from life that was. While science points us backward to the humblest origin, it has demonstrated that all men everywhere, when subject to the same conditions, developed the same institutions. For it is now known that like causes produce like results in human life, the same as in all other fields where the operation of natural law has been observed and studied. All human life is the same life, because, subject to the same conditions, it produces the same results. And hence, what religion has made a deep and controlling sentiment, what war has made a necessity, what trade has made inevitable, modern science has made known as a vital, living relationship.

However long the world was waiting for the first drop of human blood, when it came it was alive. It was endowed with certain marvelous powers. It was able to repeat, through succeeding generations, the same forms of life, and to carry on, as characteristic of each new life, the qualities of each individual life through whose heart it had passed on its way.

337. The Warm Blood-Current of the Race-Life.—The warm, red blood which lives in the hearts of all men bears with itself qualities which it has never lost, powers which it has continuously possessed during untold centuries since it was first given its life during all of which time it has never once been cold, or chilled, or dead. From the loins of each generation it has leaped to the next, hot, and bearing with itself the life of all preceding centuries. Each generation is not a

come free and equal, not master and servant, but comrades, brothers and sisters!"—Liebknecht: *Socialism: What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish*, p. 46.

new life just visiting the world for the first time. It is the same old life, re-embodying and once more manifesting itself in new and higher forms, unless exhausted by the excesses or made degenerate by the follies of its parentage. The waters of a mountain stream so mingle with each other that, no matter what torrents, or currents, or eddies, or twists, or turns may be taken in its progress, the waters mingle with each other; and, sweet or bitter, clear or turbid, whatever is characteristic of any share of the current, speedily becomes a quality of the whole current itself. But no mountain stream has so mingled its waters as the sources of all life have mingled with each other in the movements of the centuries. The life we have was derived from the past. The life we live will be given to the future. All that the past has given us, all that we are, will determine the life of tomorrow.

In any effort to separate great families or tribes, no matter for how many centuries they may seem to succeed, they are overwhelmed at last and swept on into the midst of the movement of the ages, either as a new force which has brightened and ennobled the life of all, or perchance as a group of degenerates whose separation has involved their own ruin, and whose return can only injure the life of all so long as its weak vitality may last. This life current, capitalism poisons, corrupts, taints with crime, robs of its vitality and smothers out of it every rising purpose of a higher life. Only Socialism can win for it protection from harm and freedom to move unhampered in its long ascent.

338. United Testimony of the Sciences.—Thus the study of biology leads to the knowledge of the oneness of all life—to race-consciousness, to the sense of solidarity. The same result follows the study of all the other sciences which deal with the facts of life or with the development of human institutions. Anthropology,

or the study of the human race; ethnology, or the study of the separate races of men, and philology, or the study of the written and spoken languages of the race, all reveal the kinship of the races, which more and more bind them to each other and into a single world-wide race-life, while the study of sociology, or the laws of social growth, are more and more making plain the necessary interdependence of all men in a way which reinforces every personal interest by revealing its identity with the widest interests of all.

Reciprocity is a new word in politics, but it expresses an old fact in real life, and the wide study of these sciences and the rapid growth of the great body of facts which students in these fields are gathering is reinforcing the sense of race solidarity among students and teachers everywhere.

339. The Poets and Prophets.—The poets and prophets of all ages have seen and have sung the unity of the race. In fact, it was the realization of this unity which made the poets and the prophets. They have spoken of the life of all, which is to be the life of all tomorrow, and which their wider vision realized for themselves as if it was the life of all already.

Those with a narrower vision could not see, and therefore could not understand; and the prophets were stoned because they bluntly spoke of pictures which others could not see.

The poets escaped stoning because, though they spoke of that same coming common life, their music so blended its chords and quickened its vibrations in the lives of all that all responded to the all-life which had made the poets.

340. Industry and Politics Must Develop With Race Solidarity.—Now, human life can realize the unity of the race and so make possible the perfection of the individual only by continuing the development which

will give to common possession the matters of common concern and protect from the interference of any those things which belong to the individual alone. But the trouble with the old society, the trouble with the whole line of ecclesiastical, political and industrial institutions, is that they have insisted, and still insist, on organizing and controlling the things which are of individual concern, and refuse to organize and to give to joint control those things which are the concern of all. But this is what the Socialists propose to do.

341. The Highest Incentive to Action.—The old individual asked, "If a man die, shall he live again?" The new individual may not ignore the old question; but his chief concern will be with this question: If a man live, what shall be the life which by his existence must become and remain a share of the world life forever?⁴ This sense of solidarity, this realization of

4. "The social purpose is a humanized world composed of men and women and children, sound and accomplished and beautiful in body; intelligent and sympathetic in mind; reverent in spirit; living in an environment rich in the largest elements of use and beauty; and occupying themselves with the persistent study and pursuit of perfection. In a word, the social purpose is human wealth. There is but one interest in life, and that is the human interest. All that makes for human wealth; for the sound, strong, beautiful, accomplished organism; for an enlarged and rationalized conception of nature; for the unfolding and perfecting of the human spirit—all this is light; and all that makes against human wealth, however, sanctioned by law and custom, platitudes and prejudice,—all this is darkness. Education is simply the practical process by which we realize this social purpose and acquire human wealth. The social purpose is frankly avaricious of the utmost possible amount of good fortune; and this divine greed can only be satisfied when as a society, we deliberately and consciously resolve to make the very best out of every individual, to make him highly endowed, to make him superior even to the full measure of his capacity. A nation which fails to do this fails to realize the social purpose, and must still be accounted barbarous. It has not yet come into conscious harmony with the great esthetic world-process. Looking over the earth today one sees a goodly and an increasing company of delightful, cultivated, social, human people; but one does not see a single nation that is other than barbarous. Even America, the greatest of them all, is not yet social, has not yet thrown herself unreservedly into the pursuit of human wealth. We make a fetish of the public school with its cheap information and shop-keeping accomplishments, but we have not yet conceived of human life as a moral and esthetic revelation of the universe nor of education as a practical

the common life of man, this entering into companionship with all the past and into paternal relations with all the future, this unity and identity of interest between the individual and the race to which he belongs, furnish a basis for the highest character—an incentive for the greatest achievements.⁵ It sounds the call for the only real heroism of modern times.⁶

342. Capitalism Outgrown.—But this sense of solidarity, this sense of brotherhood, this oneness of the race life, in which each individual is carrying within himself all the achievements of the past and all the promise of the future, can never express itself in

process of entering into this tremendous possession. Even the bounty of nature, the indisputable heritage of the collective nation, her fields and forests, oil wells and coal mines, mineral deposits and stone quarries, water power and roadways,—all this is handed over to the crude ministration of profit, and the majority of America's children are reduced to the position of wage-takers and servants, with little time or strength or heart for the carrying out of the true social purpose, the pursuit of the higher human wealth. The bulk of our laws have to do with merchandise and real estate. The few that concern themselves with man are mainly prohibitive, the things that he may not do. The realization of the social purpose demands a more positive ideal than this.”—Henderson: *Education and Life*, pp. 48***50.

5. “Every being who is not monocellular is sure to have something good in him, because he is a society in embryo, and a society does not subsist without a certain equilibrium, a mutual balance of activities. Further, the monocellular being itself would become plural if more completely analyzed; nothing in the universe is simple; now, every one who is complex has always more or less solidarity with other beings. Man, being the most complex being we know of, has also more solidarity with respect to others. Moreover, he is the being with most consciousness of that solidarity. Now, he is the best who has most consciousness of his solidarity with other beings and the universe.”—Guyau: *Education and Heredity*, p. 33.

6. “The most unfortunate fact in the history of human development is the fact that the rational faculty so far outstripped the moral sentiments. This is really because moral sentiments require such a high degree of reasoning power. The intuitive reason which is purely egoistic, is almost the earliest manifestation of the directive agent and requires only a low degree of the faculty of reasoning. But sympathy requires a power of putting one's self in the place of another, of representing to self the pains of others. When this power is acquired it causes a reflex of the represented pain to self, and this reflected pain felt by the person representing it becomes more and more acute and unendurable as the representation becomes more vivid and as the general organization becomes more delicate and refined. This high degree was far from being attained by man at the early stage

economic and industrial relations while capitalism lasts, because capitalism arrays one against another, and attempts to maintain as matters of individual concern those things upon which all must depend for their existence.⁷ The monopoly, tyranny and inequality of capitalism are directly at war with this growing sense of solidarity of the race.⁸

343. Socialism and Solidarity.—On the other hand, this sense of race solidarity could not become the force it is in the life of man without directly suggesting the collectivism, democracy and equality which alone can

with which we are now dealing. Vast ages must elapse before it is reached even in its simplest form. And yet the men of that time knew their own wants and possessed much intelligence of ways of satisfying them. We need not go back to savage times to find this difference between egoistic and altruistic reason. We see it constantly in members of civilized society who are capable of murdering innocent persons for a few dollars with which they expect to gratify a passion or satisfy some personal want. It is true in this sense that a criminal is a survival from savagery. Civilization may indeed be measured by the capacity of men for suffering representative pain and their efforts to relieve it."—Ward: *Pure Sociology*, p. 346.

"The industrial reformation for which western Europe groans and travails, and the advent of which is indicated by so many symptoms though it will come only as the fruit of faithful and sustained effort), will be no isolated fact, but will form part of an applied art of life, modifying our whole environment, affecting our whole culture, and regulating our whole conduct—in a word, directing all our resources to the one great end of the conservation and development of Humanity."—Ingram: *History of Political Economy*, p. 246.

7. "As militancy first compelled national unity, so the warring factions of industrialism are being forced into protective alliances. This is the purport of the latest phase of social evolution. If under modern conditions fifty men can feed a thousand and another fifty can clothe them, the struggle for existence has ceased; there should now be enough peaceful leisure for all to develop the best that is in them." Flint and Hill: *The Trust—Its Book*, Introduction, p. 35.

8. "Development in society involves the possibility of indefinite development in man. It assumes that man has not exhausted his physical or his intellectual or his spiritual powers. The spiritual terms carry with them the physical ones; the body can and must keep pace with the mind. There is at no point any indication of any inability to go farther. The spiritual affections, the wise and just sentiments which unite us to our fellow men, are plainly incipient. We are only finding the field which lies before them, not reaching its limits.

"Social evolution also postulates the possibility of indefinite progress in society. It assumes that there is a bottom (and ultimately) no clash of interests; that existing difficulties are the result

satisfy, in industry and commerce, this sense of race solidarity.⁹ This sense of solidarity must make matters of common dependence subject to the common control. It must deliver the individual to himself. It must deliver him from economic pressure by making those things which concern the existence of all subject to the control of all. Then no individual will any longer be dependent on any other individual for the means of life, or for the opportunity to create the means of life. But that is Socialism. Hence, the development of the sense of solidarity of the race has been an important factor in the development of Socialism. It could not advance and fail to suggest what the Socialists propose.¹⁰

344. Capitalism the Builder of Socialism.—Capital-

of deficient knowledge, defective feeling, and may pass away. They are simply the chaos that evolution is to rule into creation. There is no real, no permanent, self-sacrifice in progress. The well-being of all means the highest well-being of each. We save ourselves by losing them."—Bascom: *Social Theory*, pp. 528-29.

9. "We shall pass from class paternalism, originally derived from fetish fiction in times of universal ignorance, to human brotherhood in accordance with the nature of things and our growing knowledge of it; from political government to industrial administration; from competition in individualism to individuality in co-operation; from war and despotism, in any form, to peace and liberty."—Thomas Carlyle, Quoted by Davidson, *The Annals of Toil*, p. 233.

10. "The belief that with the stoppage of war, could it be achieved, national vigor must decay, is based on a complete failure to recognize that the lower form of struggle is stopped for the express purpose and with the necessary result that the higher struggle shall become possible. With the cessation of war, whatever is really vital and valuable in nationality does not perish; on the contrary, it grows and thrives as it could not do before, when the national spirit out of which it grows was absorbed in baser sorts of struggle.

"Internationalism is no more opposed to the true purposes of nationalism than socialism within the nation, rightly guided, is hostile to individualism. The problem and its solution are the same. We socialize in order that we may individuate; we cease fighting with bullets in order to fight with ideas.

"All the essentials of the biological struggle for life are retained, the incentive to individual vigor, the intensity of the struggle, the elimination of the unfit and the survival of the fittest.

"The struggle has become more rational in mode and purpose and result, and reason is only a higher form of nature." Hobson: *Imperialism*, pp. 199-200.

ism has had its share even in this growth of the sense of solidarity of the race. It has helped to create the great institutions in industry and to carry on great enterprises in commerce, which in turn have helped to enlarge, if not create, the very forces which must overthrow capitalism and establish institutions greater and freer than can be built under capitalism. And these new institutions will give us a selfhood more complete and more absolute, whose greatness will realize not only the individuality of single human beings, but the fullest sense of solidarity of race interests and of race-life.

345. Summary.—1. In the beginning man had no sense of the race life. Neither had he any sufficient appreciation of the individual.

2. The earliest life was the tribal life, which neither recognized the relation of the individual to the race, nor gave any proper scope to the selfhood of the individual within the tribe.

3. The earliest movement towards the world life was the wars between the tribes, which finally led to the establishment of the ancient military despotisms. The great religions closely followed the great conquests and helped, in a large degree, to teach the lesson of the oneness of the race.

4. World-wide trade has broken over all race lines and national boundaries and brought the individual into direct relations with the whole race of man.

5. Great industries have compelled great companies of men to work together and to realize their common dependence and so to come to the discovery of a common life interest.

6. Modern science has shown that like causes produce like results in human affairs the same as in all other fields where the operations of natural law have

been observed and studied. Students of these affairs are made conscious of the race solidarity.

7. The realization of the race life cannot come under capitalism. Every effort to satisfy this race life is a step in the evolution of Socialism.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Give conditions of primitive life which made impossible any sense of the race life.
2. Show relations of individuals to tribal life.
3. By what process were the tribal lines broken down and the individuals within and a larger world force without finally recognized?
4. How have the great religions affected the race life?
5. In what way has trade advanced the sense of oneness of all life?
6. How has the study of natural law affected the conceptions of the race life?
7. Explain how transmission of life from generation to generation intermingles all life, making all life one.
8. What services have the poets and prophets rendered in this connection?
9. Why were the prophets stoned, and why did the poets escape?
10. How will Socialism save the individual from interference in personal matters, and at the same time extend and satisfy the sense of solidarity?
11. How is this sense of solidarity related to character, and why does the continuous surrender to capitalism make impossible the highest character in those who become conscious of this oneness of the race life?
12. What share has Capitalism had in the growth of the sense of solidarity of the race—and so in the evolution of Socialism?

CHAPTER XXI

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT

343. The Economic Classes.—The existence of economic classes cannot be seriously denied. It is admitted that serious efforts have been made to abolish economic classes, but the steps taken have been insufficient and at each new turn in the evolution of society the economic classes have so far remained, and must remain until the economic causes which perpetuate the economic classes are removed.

Fraternalities, churches, brotherhoods, literature, art, the noblest sentiments, can never do away with the economic classes, so long as economic inequality of opportunity shall continue to produce the master and the servant, the millionaire and the tramp, "the bondholders and the vagabonds," the shirkers and the workers, those "who live without working, and those who work without living."

344. Fixing the Class Lines.—There are many classes of exploiters. There are many classes of workers. But the class lines of importance in economic controversies are not the lines between different classes of exploiters or between different classes of workers. The lines are clear enough between those "who plant vine-

yards and do not eat the fruit thereof" and those who do no planting, but do the eating nevertheless. The lines are clear enough between those who "build houses and others inhabit," and those who build no houses, but inhabit those which others build. The lines are clear enough between those who produce wealth which they are not permitted to enjoy and those who enjoy the products of others, but neither produce anything nor render any service of any sort or of any value to anyone. The line is clear enough between those who get something for nothing and those who get nothing for something.¹

In the chapter on "The Middle Class and Socialism" will be discussed those capitalists who are also workers and those workers who are also capitalists; but for the purposes of this chapter we may safely follow the broad lines here indicated.

348. All Wars Class Wars.—All of the conflicts of history have been class conflicts. This does not mean that classes were created in order to carry on the strife. It means that large groups of people having common interests have found that they could not best serve these interests without coming into conflict with other groups, and this conflict of interests has been the occasion of the conflict of classes whose interests were opposed. The philosophy of the class struggle is a direct

1. "If we examine attentively the societies developing at the present day in the civilized countries in the old and new worlds, they present (we find) one common phenomenon: absolutely and irrevocably all of them fall into two distinct and separate classes; one class accumulates in idleness enormous and ever-increasing revenues, the other, far more numerous, labors life long for miserable wages; one class lives without working, the other works without living—without living a life, at least, worthy of the name. When confronted by so marked and so painful a contrast, the question must at once occur to every mind that reflects: Is this sad state of affairs the result of inherent necessity; inseparable from the organic conditions of human nature; or is it merely the outcome of certain historical tendencies that are destined to disappear at a later stage of social evolution?"—Loria: *Economic Foundations of Society*, p. 1.

denial that the struggle for existence is a struggle of individuals only. It is simply the recognition of collectivism in the struggle for existence. Either the whole scope of the collective struggle for existence must be denied, or the class struggle, the struggle together and for each other, of those whose interests in the struggle for existence are found to be the same, and against all others whose interests are in conflict, must be admitted. One collectivity has struggled against another collectivity because of the question of survival, not of individuals only, but of whole classes of individuals.

349. Conflicts Between the Exploiters.—There have been many struggles in the past when the conflict was to determine which of the two contending groups should be permitted to exploit a third group whose interests were a matter of no concern to either of the contending parties. Probably the wars of Cromwell are as clear a case of a hotly contested battle between economic classes for the opportunity to exploit a third and neglected economic class, which, while not represented by either side in the conflict, were the economic victims of the victors whichever way the tide of battle turned. The world powers contending with each other for the markets of the Orient is a good illustration of this sort of conflict. While the contending parties all belong to the same economic class of exploiters, they have, nevertheless, conflicting economic interests in the struggle to determine which ones of the exploiting countries shall have the best chance at the country which all hold in the same regard as a hawk may be supposed to hold its prey. Russia and England find it hard to be friends, not because either “has anything against the other,” but because each desires the largest possible share of Chinese resources and markets, and whatever either secures the other cannot have.

350. Ruling Classes and Prevailing Morals.—Whatever country secures control of any particular portion of the Eastern territory, immediately the institutions, laws, usages and morals of that territory will proceed to take the form of the new ruling class.

So long as class rule remains the ruling institutions, laws, usages and morals of any given country will be those of the ruling class of that country. This is only another way of saying that in the struggle for existence it is always true that those which survive are the ones which survive. In the economic class struggle the class which has been the master in the control of the means of life has been the ruling class, and the working class has been able to survive only as the servants of these exploiting masters since the original creation of economic class lines.

351. The Evolution of the Class Struggle.—In the discussion of primitive life, and particularly in following the order of human progress under primitive institutions, it was discovered that there were no economic class struggles either in savagery or in barbarism. The economic class war made its beginning in the world as the result of barbarian wars of conquest. It began with the beginning of slavery. It changed form in the interest of the master class to serfdom, and finally, in the interest of the same master class, into the wage system. The struggle has been followed from its beginning with the beginning of civilization, through the various forms of servitude, including capitalism, down to the present. Today capitalism is both the economic and political expression of the interests of the masters, while Socialism is equally the economic and political expression of the interests of the toilers.

352. Conflicting Economic Interests.—So long as capitalism remains the workers can be workers only

with the consent of the idlers. They cannot manage their own industries. They cannot fix their own hours of labor. They cannot determine either the terms or the conditions under which they labor. They cannot appropriate to their own use the products of their own toil.

If the workers are to be given joint ownership in the means of production, equal voice in the management of the industries and equal opportunity to become workers, then capitalism must necessarily cease.²

The struggle of capitalism to perpetuate itself is not a struggle to defend old rights or to protect old interests. It is an effort to continue to control the labor of others and to continue to appropriate the products of others.

The co-operative commonwealth cannot be established without the burial of capitalism. The workers cannot increase their share of their products without diminishing the share of the capitalists.

2. "Of all the intellectual difficulties of individualism, the greatest, perhaps, is that which is presented by the constant flux of things. Whatever may be the advantages and the conveniences of the present state of society, we are, at any rate, all of us, now sure of one thing—that it can not last.

"We have learnt to think of social institutions and economic relations as being as much the subjects of constant change and evolution as any biological organism. The main outlines of social organization, based upon the exact sphere of private ownership in England today, did not 'come down from the Mount.'"

"The very last century has seen an almost complete upsetting of every economic and industrial relation in the country, and it is irrational to assume that the existing social order, thus new-created, is destined inevitably to endure in its main features unchanged and unchangeable. History did not stop with the last great convulsion of the Industrial Revolution, and Time did not then suddenly cease to be the great Innovator. * * * * * Thus, it is the constant flux of things which underlies all the 'difficulties' of individualism. Whatever we may think of the existing social order, one thing is certain—namely, that it will undergo modification in the future as certainly and as steadily as in the past. Those modifications will be partly the result of forces not consciously initiated or directed by human will. Partly, however, the modifications will be the results, either intended or unintended, of deliberate attempts to readjust the social environment to suit man's real or fancied needs. It is therefore not a question of whether the existing social order shall be changed, but of how this inevitable change shall be made."—Webb: *Problems of Modern Industry*, pp. 229-30.

As the workers cannot increase the share they are getting, to say nothing of appropriating the total product of their industries—which is justly theirs—without directly antagonizing the interests of the capitalists, there is, consequently, no way by which these questions can be fought out “to a finish” along any other line than the line of the mutual antagonisms resulting from these necessarily conflicting interests between the workers and the idlers.

353. Class Consciousness.—To see clearly that two great economic classes have existed in history, that they still exist—to be aware of the conflict of interests between these classes, that is, between the exploiters and the victims of the exploitation—to realize one’s identity with his own class, is a necessary condition to taking one’s most effective part on either side of this class struggle; and this is what is meant by being class conscious.

354. “States of Consciousness.”—John Fiske says that “Life in the animal world is a series of states of consciousness.” Any organism is alive just in proportion as it is conscious, and in that proportion only will it struggle for existence. It is true that one may be class conscious with but a slight degree of consciousness. One may know and realize that there are economic classes without intensely feeling his own identity of interest with either class. He may have a shadowy sort of consciousness without having a realization of the matter and of the necessity of this economic class war.

One may be conscious of some disorder in his own physical constitution. This disorder may be really fatal, but the victim will not rise to the death-struggle unless he is not only conscious of the disorder, but conscious of the very serious danger of his malady. One stupefied with drink has a form of consciousness

and will make some effort to protect himself, but he cannot be as practical, as careful, as effective, as if wholly in possession of himself, as if in a more perfect state of consciousness. A sleeping child can protect itself but little, if at all. It comes into more effectiveness in the struggle for existence when half awake. Only when wide awake, however, can it use to the utmost its powers of self-preservation. This holds in the life of groups and classes as well as in all other forms of organic existence. The working class, unconscious of its solidarity, unconscious of its power, unconscious of its relations to the exploiters, may be said to be in the sleeping stage of class consciousness. It is not enough that the worker shall be half awake. He must be altogether awake. He must altogether realize his relations to his fellows, and how he is related to the strugglers in this struggle of economic classes, and how vitally essential to his own welfare is the triumph of his class.³

3. "While modern plutocracy is not a form of government in the same sense that the other forms mentioned are, it is, nevertheless, easy to see that its power is as great as any government has ever wielded. The test of governmental power is usually the manner in which it taxes the people, and the strongest indictments ever drawn up against the worst forms of tyranny have been those which recited the oppressive methods of extorting tribute. But tithes are regarded as oppressive, and a fourth part of the yield of any industry would justify a revolt. Yet today there are many commodities for which the people pay two or three times as much as would cover the cost of production, transportation and exchange at fair wages and fair profits. The monopolies in many lines actually tax the consumer from 25 to 75 per cent of the real value of the goods. Imagine an excise tax that should approach these figures! It was shown in Chapter XXXIII that under the operation of either monopoly or aggressive competition the price of everything is pushed up to the maximum limit that will be paid for the commodity in profitable quantities, and this wholly irrespective of the cost of production. No government in the world has now, or ever has had, the power to enforce such an extortion as this. It is a governing power in the interests of favored individuals, which exceeds that of the most powerful monarch or despot that ever wielded a scepter. * * * * *

"The individual has reigned long enough. The day has come for society to take its affairs into its own hands and shape its own destinies. The individual has acted as best he could. He has acted in the only way he could. With a consciousness, will, and intellect of

355. The Irrepressible Warfare.—The age-long class war is nearing a final crisis; and in that final conflict all those who are willing to serve in any way will be found together, and all those who exact service, or wish to exact service, for which they wish to render no corresponding service in return—all these will be found together. And between these two classes the economic and political battle must be fought out “to a finish.” There can be no compromise in the nature of the case. Nothing but unconditional surrender can end the war. If the workers surrender, nothing but the continuance of dependence and poverty can come to them as a result while capitalism lasts, and the collapse of capitalism will come just the same.

If capitalism does not surrender, its collapse cannot be avoided by any victory which it can possibly gain over the working people. If capitalism does surrender, as sooner or later it must surrender, the workers will become the masters, but as all men and women must then become useful people, serving others if they expect the service of others, economic class lines must disappear at once and for all time.

The economic class lines established in the world by the misfortune of barbarian wars, perpetuated through out the whole period of civilization by the force of the military, which now condemns the workers to conditions to which they would never submit, were the tasks

his own he could do nothing else than pursue his natural ends. He should not be denounced nor called names. He should not even be blamed. Nay, he should be praised, and even imitated. Society should learn its great lesson from him, should follow the path he has so clearly laid out that leads to success. It should imagine itself an individual, with all the interests of an individual, and becoming fully conscious of these interests it should pursue them with the same indomitable will with which the individual pursues his interests. Not only this, it must be guided, as he is guided, by the social intellect, armed with all the knowledge that all individuals combined, with so great labor, zeal, and talent, have placed in its possession, constituting the social intelligence.”—Ward: *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, pp. 322 * * * 24.

of the toilers once free from the guards of the soldiers—this age-long class war will end with the triumph of the working class.

356. The Evolution of Socialism.—It was the coming of slavery, the result of barbarian wars and the earliest form of capitalism, which brought into existence the economic class struggle. Every step in the development of modern capitalism has intensified the conflict of interests between the beneficiaries of capitalism and the victims of capitalism. So long as capitalism lasts this conflict of interests must remain. So long as the interests of these economic classes are opposed to each other, so long these classes must be at war and cannot be at peace. No possible victory of capitalism can end the conflict of interests and so end the class war. Every blow that is struck in this class war is making more evident, and in the end must make it absolutely clear to all men, that only by ending capitalism can this age-long warfare of economic classes be ended also. It is becoming equally clear that the only way to make an end of capitalism is to make a beginning of Socialism. And hence, the creation of economic classes by capitalism and the pitiless class war under capitalism becomes a factor of the first importance in the evolution of Socialism. And Socialism is the final working program of the working man's side of this age-long economic class war.

357. Summary.—1. Economic classes do exist.

2. The economic class war is the result of the conflict of the economic interests of the economic classes.

3. The master class is always the class in control of economic opportunities.

4. The class which is dependent on others for economic opportunities will be dependent in all other relations.

5. The class war cannot be ended so long as conflicting economic interests remain.

6. The working class cannot bring industrial peace by any surrender it can possibly make because conflicting economic interests will still remain.

7. The master class cannot avoid disaster by any victory it can gain over the working class. Mutual strife among the masters will continue the process of mutual self-destruction.

8. Equal economic opportunity for all men will end the class war by removing the cause of the existence of economic classes.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Describe the economic classes.
2. What is characteristic of all the wars?
3. Give instances of economic wars between members of the master class.
4. Give an account of the evolution of the economic class struggle.
5. Can the class war cease and capitalism continue?
6. What is meant by class consciousness?
7. Can there be degrees of class consciousness?
8. How many sides will be engaged in the final conflict of the economic class war?
9. What will end the economic class struggle?
10. How is Socialism related to this economic class struggle?

CHAPTER XXII

THE COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM AND THE TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM

358. The Inevitable Collapse.—It has been seen in Chapter XI how inevitable is the collapse of capitalism. It is the purpose here to show that the collapse of capitalism is not more inevitable than the triumph of Socialism is certain.

Capitalism must finally collapse because, first, when a single group of owners own the earth, it will be impossible for them to re-invest their profits. Profits in excess of personal expenditures which cannot be re-invested but must accumulate, can be of no advantage to their possessors. Second, capitalism must collapse because when all the world becomes one work-shop—as well as one market—there can then be no outside market for the products which the workers produce but cannot buy, and which their employers own but cannot consume. And finally, capitalism must collapse because, when all of the dominant industrial activities of the world are under a single centralized ownership, the management of these industries can no longer employ the workers in producing goods which they cannot sell, nor in earning profits which they cannot re-invest.

359. If Capitalism Remains.—If capitalism must remain after it has wrought its service and accomplished its work and reached the end of all possible development under that method of organization and management of the industries,—then the distress of the workers must be world-wide and most appalling, while all interest and incentive for the capitalist under capitalism must utterly fail because the game has been played “to a finish” and further activity or achievement in the line of capitalism is utterly impossible.

360. Need Not Remain.—But capitalism does not need to remain. Having conquered the earth, the despotic military organization of the work-shop, the market and the government, will be no longer necessary, for the age-long period of conquest will have reached its consummation. There will be no more worlds to conquer. This will be true in war, in politics, in trade, —and the co-operative commonwealth must certainly follow. The world-conquest will have prepared the way.

361. Failure of Incentive Under Capitalism.—The swords and spears of capitalism, no longer needed in the work of conquest, must then reinforce the pruning hooks and ploughshares of productive industry. But if this be true, then production must be carried on for some other purpose than for profits. Goods must be produced, not in order that they may be sold, in order that more goods may be bought, in order that more goods may be sold, for when this process has bought and sold the earth, the interest in accumulation must cease and with it the game itself.¹

362. Producing for the Products.—But goods may be produced, even then, for the use of the producers.

1. “It is indeed certain that industrial society will not permanently remain without a systematic organization. The mere conflict of private interests will never produce a well-ordered commonwealth of labor.”—Ingram: *History of Political Economy*, p. 244.

Goods produced not in order that they may be used but in order that they may be sold, are called commodities. Today the whole earth is given over to the production of commodities. But in primitive production goods were produced not to be sold in the market but to be stored in the tribal storehouse against the day of need. The Pueblo Indians to this day carry a stock of two years' provisions in excess of their needs. And if, for any reason, the stock falls below this limit, immediately all tribesmen are put on rations until the two years' surplus is restored. Here is a motive for industry which does not involve producing for a market, but simply involves producing for human needs.

363. Filling the Store-house and Leisure for All.—When capitalistic conquest shall have made the world into one work-shop and into one market-place, and cannot any longer produce for the sake of the market, in order to enlarge the market which will then have been enlarged to its utmost limit, we shall not need to abandon the store-houses; we shall not need to abandon the shops. We can fill them with goods as they have never been filled, only the goods will belong to the producers and will be theirs for their own use.

Production will not need to stop because there will no longer be a foreign market for the goods nor investments for profits from the surplus which the workers produce but cannot buy. Goods can be produced for the world's store-house. The race will not need to live within a few months of the line of starvation. The power of the workers to take goods out of the store-house can be made equal to their service in putting goods into the store-house. And when production has been carried beyond both the current need and "the rainy day," the hours of labor may be shortened and leisure placed within the reach of all.

The exploiter, unable to privately appropriate the

products of others and then dispose of the products so appropriated, must become himself a producer for use along with the rest.

When private capitalism owns the earth and cannot use it, the people of the earth will be able both to use it and to provide some way by which they may own it in order that they may use it.²

364. End of Monopoly, Tyranny and Inequality.—Wherever despotism has collapsed, democracy has been re-established. When the despotism of trade shall have collapsed, democracy will reassert itself in the shops and store-houses of the world. When the inequality which has been created by industry whose motive has been conquest, finds the groups of the workers democratically managing the means of production, it is impossible that any will be excluded. When capitalism, which has been the oppressor and the robber and the master of all, shall give up the keys to the earth's treasures, and surrenders its place of mastery, it is impossible to conceive of the surrender being made to any share of the workers less than to all alike.

The collapse of capitalism means the end of monopoly in ownership, the end of petty personal tyranny in management and the end of inequality of opportunity, —all of which are essential and necessary parts of capitalism.

Collectivism is the only possible alternative from monopoly; democracy the only possible alternative

2. "Marxian Socialists are not prophets.

"Our sincere wish is that the social revolution, when its evolution shall be ripe, may be effected peacefully, as so many other revolutions have been without bloodshed—like the English Revolution, which preceded by a century, with its Bill of Rights, the French Revolution; like the Italian Revolution in Tuscany in 1859; like the Brazilian Revolution, with the exile of the Emperor Dom Pedro, in 1892.

"It is certain that Socialism, by spreading education and culture among the people, by organizing the workers into a class-conscious party under its banner, is only increasing the probability of the fulfillment of our hope."—Ferri: *Socialism and Modern Science*, p. 153.

from tyranny; equality the only possible remedy for the wrong of inequality. Collectivism, democracy equality,—the collective ownership, democratic management and equal opportunity in the use of the collectively owned means of producing the means of life,—is the next order in the affairs of the race.

365. Conclusion.—The evolution, culmination and collapse of capitalism are parts of the processes of the evolution of Socialism. The evolution of Socialism as related to the evolution of capitalism is simply the larger whole comprising the smaller part. The evolution of Socialism is vastly more extended in time, more comprehensive in the number and importance of the interests involved and in its culmination, in the inauguration of the co-operative commonwealth, it will carry over to this social successor of capitalism all that had been achieved before capitalism, all that has been achieved by capitalism and all that has been achieved by all other social factors and forces existing under capitalism, so far as the things which have been achieved can be of any further social service in the struggle for existence.³ The race life, escaping from capitalism and entering into Socialism, will not only continue its evolution under new conditions, but will at last escape from the monopoly, tyranny and inequality of capitalism, resulting from the ignorance

3. "As long as the structure and the volume of the center of crystallization, the germ, or the embryo, increase gradually, we have a gradual and continuous process of evolution, which must be followed at a definite stage by a process of revolution, more or less prolonged, represented, for example, by the separation of the entire crystal from the mineral mass which surrounds it, or by certain revolutionary phases of vegetable or animal life, as for example, the moment of sexual reproduction.; * * * * *

"These same processes also occur in the human world. By evolution must be understood the transformation that takes place day by day, which is almost unnoticed, but continuous and inevitable; by revolution, the critical and decisive movement, more or less prolonged, of an evolution that has reached its concluding phase; * * * * *

"It must be remarked, in the first place, that while revolution and evolution are normal functions of social physiology, rebellion and

and strife of the childhood of the race,—but at last outgrown. And then: Brotherhood.

366. Summary.—1. The economic class struggle is caused by a conflict of economic interests.

2. The economic class struggle is between the beneficiaries and the victims of capitalism.

3. Economic classes must necessarily exist under

individual violence are symptoms of social pathology.”—Ferri: *Socialism and Modern Science*, pp. 139-40.

“This is not mere sentimentality; it is the logical outcome of forces always at work within and around us. Just as there has come a time when, on this continent at least, war has given all of good that it has to give, so is there coming a time when competition—which is industrial war—will have conferred on the nation all its possible benefits. A perfected system of co-operation is the promise to civilized mankind of existing tendencies.”—The Trust: Its Book (Flint, Hill, etc.), *Introduction*, pp. 32-35.

“No mind in our civilization has, in all probability, as yet imagined the full possibilities of the collective organization—under the direction of a highly centralized and informed intelligence acting under the sense of responsibility here described—of all the activities of industry and production, moving steadily towards the goal of the endowment of all human capacities in a free conflict of forces. It is only necessary for the observer who has once grasped the meaning of the development described in the preceding chapters to stand at almost any point in the life of the English-speaking world of the present day to realize how far society has, in reality, moved beyond that conception of its joint effort which prevailed in the early period of the competitive era—the conception of the state as an irresponsible and almost brainless Colossus, organized primarily towards the end of securing men in possession of the gains they had obtained in an uncontrolled scramble for gain divorced from all sense of responsibility.

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the peoples who have lived through this phase of the competitive process, and amongst whom such competition as has prevailed has achieved the highest results, will start towards the new era with a great advantage in their favor. For it must be expected that, where the development in progress continues to be efficiently maintained, the new system will succeed the old, not by force or coercion, but by its own merits; and, in conditions in which it will become the increasing function of an informed and centralized system of public opinion to hold continually before the general mind through all the phases of public activity—local, social, political, and international—the character of the principles governing the epoch of development on which we have entered; and to see that the benefits accruing from the era of competition through which we have lived shall be retained and increased for society by compelling the new social order to make its way simply on its merits in free and fair rivalry with those activities of private effort which it is destined to supersede.”—Kidd: *Principles of Western Civilization*, p. 480 and preceding.

capitalism. Without economic classes there is no capitalism.

4. So long as capitalism continues the economic class struggle must continue.

5. The collapse of capitalism will end the conflict of economic interests.

6. The coming of Socialism will provide for the continuance of industry without the exploitation of the workers and, hence, with no conflict of economic interests and therefore will make an end of the economic class struggle, and because of this a beginning of a universal brotherhood, a race no longer divided against itself.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Describe the economic classes.
2. What relation has the fact of the collective struggle for existence to the economic class struggle?
3. Under what conditions have great conflicts taken place between exploiters?
4. Why are the ruling institutions, usages and morals of any country the institutions, usages and morals of the ruling class?
5. Trace the evolution of the class struggle.
6. What are some of the points in controversy in the economic class struggle?
7. What is class-consciousness?
8. Are there degrees of consciousness?
9. Why is the conflict irrepressible?
10. What will end the class struggle?
11. How is the economic class struggle related to the evolution of Socialism?

PART IV

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS OF CON- TROVERSY BETWEEN CAPITALISTS AND SOCIALISTS

CHAPTER XXIII

FOR WHAT PURPOSES MAY THE STATE EXIST

367. The Struggle to Survive.—Collectivism is inherent in nature. It is present in all the lower forms of life. It was and is an essential condition of the survival of the human race in its struggles for existence. It is absurd to admit that any organism may exist, and yet deny to it the right to do its utmost to preserve and to defend its own existence.¹

368. Government a Factor in the Struggle to Survive.—If government is understood to be the function of society by which it seeks to defend itself and to provide for its own welfare then to deny that the govern-

1. "They [the anarchists] combat Marxian Socialism because it is law-abiding and parliamentary, and they contend that the most efficacious and the surest mode of social transformation is rebellion.

"These assertions, which respond to the vagueness of the sentiments and ideas of too large a portion of the working class and to the impatience provoked by their wretched condition, may meet with a temporary, unintelligent approval; but their effect can only be ephemeral. The explosion of a bomb may indeed give birth to a momentary emotion, but it cannot advance by the hundredth part of an inch the evolution in men's minds towards Socialism, while it causes a reaction in feeling, a reaction in part sincere, but skillfully fomented and exploited as a pretext for repression."—Ferri: *Socialism and Modern Science*, pp. 149-51.

ment may exist at all is to deny to the social organism the right which must be conceded to all organisms, namely, the right to do its utmost to preserve and to defend its own existence. Whatever theories one may entertain as to the nature and origin of rights, the fact is that all forms of life do exert themselves to the uttermost in the effort to survive in the struggle for existence. The collectivism of all sociable animals, including man, is only a means to this end in this struggle for existence. The establishment of regularly constituted authorities for the purpose of maintaining the peace within and for protecting the collectivity from enemies without is only one form of the collective struggle for existence.²

2. "The course of history is a struggle against nature, against need, ignorance and impotence, and, therefore, against bondage of every kind in which we were held under the law of nature at the beginning of history. The progressive overcoming of this impotence—this is the evolution of liberty, whereof history is an account. In this struggle we should never have made one step in advance, and we should never take a further step, if we had gone into the struggle singly, each for himself.

"Now, the state is precisely this contemplated unity and co-operation of individuals in a moral whole, whose function it is to carry on this struggle, a combination which multiplies a million-fold the force of all the individuals comprised in it, which heightens a million-fold the powers which each individual singly would be able to exert.

"The end of the state, therefore, is not simply to secure to each individual that personal freedom and that property with which the bourgeois principle assumes that the individual enters the state organization at the outset, but which in point of fact are first afforded him in and by the state. On the contrary, the end of the state can be no other than to accomplish that which, in the nature of things, is and always has been the function of the state, in set terms: by combining individuals into a state organization to enable them to achieve such ends and to attain such a level of existence as they could not achieve as isolated individuals.

"The ultimate and intrinsic end of the state, therefore, is to further the positive unfolding, the progressive development of human life. In other words, its function is to work out in actual achievement the true end of man; that is to say, the full degree of culture of which human nature is capable. It is the education and evolution of mankind into freedom."—Lassalle: *Science and the Workingman*, pp. 35-36.

"The state, being the institute of justice, and by its nature all-inclusive, represents the most perfect form of co-operation possible. The large undertakings now successfully carried out by private corporations can be still more successfully carried out by the state; for the private corporation, being bent on profits, naturally takes the ground

369. Self-Preservation.—The statement that “self-preservation is the first law of nature” is simply a declaration of this observed fact in nature, that no form of life considers any theory of rights when struggling for its own existence. This is as true of men as of beasts. It is as true of collections of men as of individuals. The earliest gentes, phratries, the tribes, the nations made by federations of the tribes, were all of them the necessary result of this universal struggle for existence.

370. The Social Struggle.—Society does and must exist.³ What may society do in that branch of its activities which has to do with its own defense and with

that anything is good enough which the public will accept, and no price too high that the public will pay; while the state, being free from this necessity, * * * may take the ideal ground that nothing is good enough which is short of the very best. All of the tremendous arguments which may be urged for association as a general principle of conduct may be urged with heightened force in favor of that more complete and perfect form of association represented by the state. And to this broader and more helpful conception of the state we are steadily advancing. One by one the state has been taking over functions and duties once vehemently denied to it, but now amply justified as helping to free men from the tyranny of things. Light-houses have been built and manned, waterways improved, maps and charts prepared. Cities have been paved and lighted and drained; water has been regarded as a public necessity; water power and natural gas for manufacturing purposes have been made available; tram lines have been taken over or built; municipal tenements have been erected; free libraries and public baths and gymnasiums have been established. * * * Both telegraphs and railways have been taken over by the state. Boards of health have been established; quarantine has been inaugurated; currency has been provided. Best of all, in any country marked by any degree of intelligence and prosperity, an elaborate system of public education has come to be regarded as a public necessity. School houses have been built by the thousands, colleges and universities by the hundred, investigations have been carried on, publications issued, expeditions fitted out. This list, long as it is, does not by any means exhaust the present directions of state activity. And, from none of these multitudinous functions would any but a very small body of reactionaries have the state withdraw. There is no turning back in this work of increasing the freedom of the individual by diminishing the tyranny of things.”—Henderson: *Education and the Larger Life*, p. 373.

3. “The external ground for the existence of the state is the nature of man. There are no men without continuity of social life [*Zusammenleben*]. There is no continuity of social life without order. There is no order without law. There is no law without coercive force.

making provision for the common welfare? Manifestly, this is not a question of what society may be able to do, but what it may most wisely do in order to best secure these ends. Society is not only a collectivity, but is a collection of individuals, each individual being an organ of the social organism. Society cannot protect itself, nor provide for its welfare, except as it provides for the safety and comfort of the individuals who make up the collectivity of which society is composed. Government may not exist, then, for any purpose which is not for the safety and welfare of the individuals who make up society.

371. The Abuse of Power.—To use the public authority to impoverish a portion of society in order to enrich another portion of society would be, manifestly, an abuse of power.

To use the public authority to deprive any member of society of the opportunity to live a full, human life would be to use the public power to do the very wrong in order to prevent which the government exists, and hence would be an abuse of power.

To use the public authority to do for an individual anything for his advantage, and yet a thing which he can do better, or, at least, as well, for himself, is an unnecessary burden on all for the benefit of a single individual, and hence would be an abuse of power.

To use the public authority to compel any member of society to speak, or act, or dress, or live in any particular manner, when no serious social harm may come from leaving him to his own choice in all such matters, is for the collectivity to invade the domain of the most sacred personal liberties of the individual. It would

There is no coercive force without organization. And this organization is the state."—[*System der Rechtsphilosophie*, p. 296].—Lasson quoted by Lily: *First Principles in Politics*, p. 28.

be substituting persecution for protection, and would be a most serious abuse of power.

For the public authority to require the individual to maintain any fixed standard of living or to regularly engage in any fixed calling or occupation, as to require one to be a blacksmith, another a farmer, and another a soldier contrary to the wishes of the person involved, would not be consistent with the true function of government; that is, to secure the safety and welfare of society, the sole ground on which government has a right to exist and hence, would be an abuse of power.

372. Class Rule and Self-Government.—"Is not that government best which governs least?" If government is a superior, enacting and enforcing laws for the control of inferiors, then that government is best which governs not at all. But if government is a necessary co-operative organization, composed of those who are political equals, then that government is best which best protects the individual and most perfectly provides for all matters of common interest. Certainly that government cannot be best which ignores the principal task of life, namely, making a living.⁴

373. Public Powers Controlled to Be Abused.—Government ownership is a term used only with offense among most Socialists; but if the government is only that function of society, of the whole of society, which provides for itself in all collective affairs and protects

4. The claim that the aggregate of governmental expenditures is largely determined by the industrial development finds support, also, in the general theory of social evolution. It is a fundamental law of social development that human wants are capable of indefinite expansion; but that their expansion will conform to the order of their relative importance. The conscious ability to satisfy a want which previously lay dormant gives to it a vitality that raises it from the rank of a simple desire to the rank of a vital principle capable of giving direction to social activity. As expressed by Bentham, 'Desires extend themselves with the means of satisfaction; the horizon is enlarged in proportion as one advances, and each new want equally accompanied by its pleasure and its pain becomes a new principle of action.' Now, it is evident that,

all its members from interference in all private affairs, then the government is the public; is society at work; is the collectivity, and there would be no difference between government ownership, public ownership and collective ownership, in such a case.

But any government which is more or less than this whole body of society, this general public, this social collectivity, acting in its own behalf, must be a government exercising public power not to protect all, nor to provide for the general welfare of all; but instead, to use the authority of all to specially serve a part and to protect this group of favorites from the just wrath of the rest of society. From government ownership by such a government little or no advantage can come to the workers. For government ownership by such a government it is as impossible to find any very effective words of defense as it is to find grounds for defending the existence of such a government.

The fact that every government on earth is administered for purposes which are here condemned does not make the condemnation any less deserved. It

for the orderly development of society, new collective wants as well as new individual wants must emerge as development proceeds, from which it follows that industrial growth opens up to society ever-expanding possibilities, which, in part, will be reflected in a corresponding expansion of those functions which government alone can perform."—Adams: *Finance*, p. 38.

"It is hard to believe in the wisdom of an economic regime under which scarcity and want are the result of an over-production of necessary commodities. It is hard to believe that human wealth is increased and the social purpose furthered by committing the natural resources of a country, the gold and silver, copper and iron, coal and oil, field and forest, into the private keeping of a few individuals, instead of administering this bounty for the good of all. * * * *

"The carrying out of the social purpose requires that a man shall have adequate food and shelter and clothing, air and water, light and heat, education and amusement, beauty and social opportunity. And further, it requires that the necessary material part of his life shall be won at the least possible expenditure of labor and time."—Henderson: *Education and the Larger Life*, p. 78.

"Employers will get labor cheap if they can; it is the business of the state to prevent them getting it so cheaply that they imperil the future of the race by the process."—Rogers: *Work and Wages*, p. 528.

only emphasizes how serious is the demand for such a control of governmental powers as shall make these powers the servants of all, not the masters of any.⁵

374. The Government and Business Enterprises.—

Is it consistent with the purposes for which the state exists for it to undertake any business or industrial enterprises? If the state is a superior, guiding, controlling and robbing the masses then such a state would bring no advantage to the masses whom it now robs without government business enterprises by going into business on its own account. It can make no difference to the workers whether they be robbed by a private shop, protected by the state, or by a shop owned as well as protected by the state.

If the state is to conduct lines of business, is to hire its workers in the market, is to employ them at the rates for which the labor market can furnish them, and is to sell the products for a profit, like other producers, while the workers have no voice in the management of the industries in which they are employed, nor direct ownership in the products of their own labors, then the benefits which could come to the workers from such government enterprises are of so little importance as to be hardly worth the trouble of securing them. Government railways, gas works, water works, street railways, electric power plants, and the postoffice are

5. "Since the time of Locke there has been practically no development of political thought. * * * There is really nothing on which the English race can base the claim they so often make, that they have a peculiar aptitude for the development of political institutions. They have been too conservative to develop institutional life beyond the needs of a primitive society. Peace and security come not from Anglo-American institutions, but from the instincts inculcated during the supremacy of the Church, the favorable economic conditions, and that spirit of compromise which has been forced on the race by the presence of opposing types of men. Given these instincts and conditions, almost any institutions would be successful. Where these conditions are lacking, the failure of our institutions is lamentably apparent, and the inability to remedy them even more obvious."—Patten: *Development of English Thought*, p. 188.

illustrations of this sort of government ownership. Such government ownership solves none of the political or economic problems connected with these great industries.⁶

Whether such a state should establish industries to compete with the private enterprises, which such a government is supposed to specially protect, is a question for the capitalists who are running the government to settle with the capitalists who are running the private enterprises.

375. Industrial and Political Self-Government.—It will be impossible to enthrone the workers in shops of their own without at the same time making the workers the masters of the state. When the workers are made the masters of the shops and of the government which is to protect the shops, then the state will cease to be the representative of any portion of the people, existing to protect this portion while this portion proceeds to exploit the rest of society. With the workers once made the masters of the state, then the state, that is, the function of society by which it protects itself and provides for its own common welfare, will at once be recovered from the control of the few who use its power to rob the many, and will become simply the organic expression of all the people in the direct control of all matters of common concern.

376. Socialism and the Government.—If the state is understood to be one part of society, using the strength of all to rob another part of society, then Socialism will abolish the state. If the state is understood to be the whole people, using their own collective strength and collective wisdom in order to protect and to provide for themselves, then all that Socialism will abolish will be the abuses of the state.⁷

6. "The statesmanship of our rulers consists simply, not alone internally, but also externally, in placing every question upon the shelf and thereby increasing the number of unsolved problems."—Kautsky: *Social Revolution*, p. 95.

7. "Civil government, so far as it is instituted for the security of

377. Socialism Will Deliver the State from the Hands of Its Foes.—Today the workshop and the market-place are privately owned and privately used by a part of the people to exploit all the rest. Socialism will not destroy the shop or the market. It will deliver both into the ownership and control of all the people for the mutual and equal advantage of all. In the same way the state, that is, the government, is privately controlled and privately used by the private owners of the shops and markets, as a part of their business equipment in their work of exploiting all the rest of the people.⁸ Socialism will not destroy the state, the government. It will simply deliver it from the private control of the private owners of the shops and markets;

property, is in reality instituted for the defense of the rich against the poor, or of those who have some property against those who have none at all.”—Adam Smith: *Wealth of Nations*, Book V., Chapter I.

“Respect for the goods and property of others is the basis of human society. It is demanded by social duty, it is inspired by good manners, it is inculcated by divine rule, and should be rigidly enforced by civil law and authority. * * * It is the primary object of every well-founded government to encourage the acquisition of individual fortunes, as it is one of its most sacred duties to guard them for their possessors when they have been lawfully and honestly earned.”—Dos Passos, *Commercial Trusts*, pp. 133-34.

“The great and chief end, therefore, of men’s uniting into commonwealths, and putting themselves under government, is the preservation of their property.”—Locke: *Civil Government*, p. 76, Cassell’s National Library edition.

“The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.”—Marx and Engels: *Communist Manifesto*, p. 15.

8. “Such is the array of distinctively economic forces making for imperialism, a large, loose group of trades and professions seeking profitable business and lucrative employment from the expansion of military and civil services, from the expenditure on military operations, the opening up of new tracts of territory and trade with the same, and the provision of new capital which these operations require, all these finding their central guiding and directing force in the power of the general financier.

“The play of these forces does not openly appear. They are essentially parasites upon patriotism, and they adapt themselves to its protecting colors. In the mouths of their representatives are noble phrases, expressive of their desire to extend the area of civilization, to establish good government, promote Christianity, extirpate slavery and elevate the lower races. Some of the business men who hold such language may entertain a genuine, though usually a vague, desire to accomplish these ends; but they are primarily engaged in business, and

and the same political action which will make the workers the masters in the administration of the shops will make them the masters in the administration of the government itself. In fact, it is only by capturing and using the power of the state that the workers can be made the masters in the shops and the market-place.

378. Do Socialists Propose the Abuse of Public Power?—May the state then properly undertake to use the political power for such a purpose, that is, for the purpose of extending collectivism, democracy and equality to the workshop and market-place?

The power of the state has been used, ever since the close of barbarism, to extend and enforce monopoly, tyranny and inequality in the workshop and the market-place. It is absurd to contend that the public authority may be used to employ the power of all, at the expense of all, for the benefit of a part, but that the authority of all may not be used by all for the benefit of all.

It is of little advantage in the struggle for existence to have a voice in the affairs of the state if it is to be agreed that the state is to have no relation to the struggle for existence. The Socialist asks not only for a voice for all, but he insists that this voice of all shall be heard in the management of all those interests which the members of society hold in common.

379. Individuality Established and Defended Under Socialism.—Where will the individual appear when this revolution shall have changed the present political

they are not unaware of the utility of the more unselfish forces in furthering their ends. Their true attitude of mind is expressed by Mr. Rhodes in his famous description of 'Her Majesty's flag' as 'the greatest commercial asset in the world.'—Hobson: *Imperialism*, p. 68.

"The state, as now constituted, may be said, in essence, to exist for the maintenance of the four grand monopolies of land and locomotion, money and machinery, and for little else."—Davidson: *The Annals of Toil*, p. 477.

state to the coming social state, when public authority shall have ceased to be the special privilege of the few and has become the acknowledged function of all, and all collective interests have become subject to collective control?⁹

The individual will have been delivered from the monopoly of capitalism, which denies him the right to earn a living except by the consent of some private owner of the means of production.¹⁰

The individual will have been delivered from the tyranny of capitalism, which denies him the right to produce, except as the servant of another.

The individual will have been delivered from the inequality of capitalism, which denies the right to most men to live at all, except as the personal inferiors, menials and dependents of others no better than themselves.

9. "We must remember that the well-being of mankind * * * consists of three main elements: (1) the subjugation of nature; (2) the perfection of social machinery, and, (3) personal development—and that true progress must include advancement in all."—Mackenzie: *Introduction to Social Philosophy*, p. 297.

"It is seen to consist, not in letting man alone, for that freedom turns out to be an illusion, but in surrounding him with facilities and opportunities for the full play of his individuality, the effective working out of his life purposes."—Henderson: *Education and the Larger Life*, p. 376.

10. "The case for society stands thus: The individual must be assured the best means, the best and fullest opportunities for complete self-development; in no other way can society itself gain variety and strength. But one of the most indispensable conditions of opportunity for self-development, government alone, society's controlling organ, can supply. All combination which necessarily creates monopoly, which necessarily puts and keeps indispensable means of industrial and social development in the hands of a few, and those few not the few selected by society itself, but the few selected by arbitrary fortune, must be under either the direct or indirect control of society. To society alone can the power of dominating combination belong."—President Wilson: *The State*, p. 661.

"The whole idea of the social state is to further the opportunity and freedom of the individual life, and so make possible the increase of human wealth. The social state is the instrument of individualism, not its opponent. The social state limits individualism in only one way—it denies the right of the individual to exploit his neighbor, even as justice denies the vendetta in taking over punishment from the hands of private vengeance and making it a state function."—Henderson: *Education and the Larger Life*, p. 379.

The individual will be given his economic right to earn a living as a free, self-employing worker, to possess for himself his products,¹¹ with equal voice in the control of the work he helps to do and with equal opportunity to be a worker if he so chooses, with all the others.

380. The End of the Oppressor.—Under such conditions the collective power of all, the public, the state, the government—call it what you will—this collective power of all cannot then be used to impoverish some in order to enrich others, to oppress some in order to gratify others, to humiliate some in order to exalt others.¹²

Democratic collectivism with all mankind in the collectivity will make an end of the abuse of public power. Socialism will substitute the collective use of public power for the equal good of all, for its private abuse for the private profit of a few.

381. Summary.—1. Government is simply the whole body of society protecting and providing for itself.

2. The state exists because self-preservation is the first law of nature.

3. The power of the state has been captured by a ruling class—the capitalist class—and is everywhere used as a part of the equipment by which the few are able to oppress the many.

4. Socialism will deliver both the industries, which are collectively used and the power of the state, by which all collective interests should be protected from

11. "Commencing at zero in savagery, the passion for the possession of property, as the representative of accumulated subsistence, has now become dominant over the human mind in civilized races."—Morган: *Ancient Society*, Preface, VII.

12. "Rampant as the spirit of commercialism now is, I cannot but regard its manifestation as the last up-flaming of the fire before it goes out."—Prof. Henderson (Chicago University): *Education and the Larger Life*, p. 380.

the control of the few and into the possession of the many.

5. Such a social state would necessarily guard all private interests from public interference, and all public interests from private oppression. It would be the most perfect guaranty of free men and of free society.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Is the state necessary?
2. By what right may it exist?
3. What relation has the state to the universal struggle for existence?
4. Give instances of the abuse of public power.
5. Is that government best which governs least?
6. In what case may government ownership be different from public or collective ownership? In what case would these terms all mean the same?
7. Can the workers be greatly benefited by government ownership when the government itself is not answerable to the workers?
8. Why is industrial democracy necessary in order to have real political democracy?
9. How can advantage be taken of political democracy in order to secure industrial democracy?
10. May the people properly undertake to use the power of the state to extend democracy to the workshop and the market?
11. What becomes of the individual under Socialism?

CHAPTER XXIV

ASSUMPTIONS IN ECONOMICS

382. The Economists.—Political economy regards mankind only as related to the production, distribution or consumption of wealth. Social economy regards wealth only as related to the comfort, liberty and progress of mankind. So far as the meaning of words goes, political economy is the science of wealth from the standpoint of capitalism, and social economy is the science of wealth from the standpoint of Socialism. Nevertheless, many who are called political economists constantly consider the public welfare. Some who call themselves social economists are among the most active defenders of capitalism. We shall avoid confusion if we ignore any distinctions between economists as to whether they call themselves political or social economists.

Even if these terms be used interchangeably, still there are many kinds of economists. The English, also called the Manchester and the classical school, is the oldest and has been the most influential. Adam Smith, Ricardo, Malthus and John Stuart Mill were of this school. The German, modern or historical school, is

the other of the two most important of the groups of the political economists.

333. The English School.—The English school ignores the real man who actually exists, and creates an imaginary man, who, it admits, never existed. It calls this creation of its imagination "the economic man," and proceeds to ask what this imaginary man would do under all possible circumstances. They answer their own questions in a manner consistent with the character of their imaginary man, and from these answers they construct their "economic axioms," on which they build their science of economics.¹

334. The Historical School.—The historical school does not try to imagine an "economic man" and base a science on the answers which their own straw man may make to their own questions. The English school is based on assumptions. The historical school is based on observations.² The English school derives its assumptions from its "economic man," who is simply an ordinary man stripped of all his qualities save those which are most in demand under capitalism. Its assumptions are the assumptions of capitalism. The

1. "Of every human passion or motive, political economy makes entire abstraction. Love of country, love of honor, love of friends, love of learning, love of art, pity, honor, shame, religion, charity, will never, so far as political economy cares to take account, withstand in the slightest degree or for the shortest time the efforts of the economic man to amass wealth."—Walker: *Political Economy*, p. 16.

"Ricardo's economic assumptions were of his own making."—Toynbee: *The Industrial Revolution*, p. 11.

"Attempts have indeed been made to construct an abstract science with regard to the actions of an 'economic man,' who is under no ethical influences and who pursues pecuniary gain warily and energetically, but mechanically and selfishly. But they have not been successful, nor even thoroughly carried out, for they have never really treated the economic man as perfectly selfish. No one could be relied on better than the economic man to endure toil and sacrifice with the unselfish desire to make provision for his family; and his normal motives have always been tacitly assumed to include the family affections. But if these motives are included, why not also all other altruistic motives, the action of which is so far uniform in any class at any time and place that it can be reduced to general rule?"—Marshall: *Principles of Economics*, Vol. I., Preface, p. 8.

2. Ely: *Political Economy*, p. 16.

historical school draws its conclusions from observations. It observes how real men act and the results of their actions in real industry and commerce, but in industry and commerce as carried on under capitalism.

385. "The Dismal Science."—Now, as a matter of fact, if the real man is not so bad a character as the economic man would be if he could really become a living man, it is found, nevertheless, that under the stress of capitalism he acts badly enough, so that the English school, based on the assumptions which underlie capitalism, and the historical school, based on the observation of man's conduct under capitalism, come practically to the same general results. Carlyle's characterization of economics as a "dismal science" will apply with equal force to both schools.³

The English school argues from the character of a

3. "The trade unionists speak with considerable bitterness of political economists, and with some reason. The ordinary teaching of political economy admits as its first definition that wealth is the product of labor; but it seldom tries to point out how the producer should obtain the benefit of his own product. It treats of the manner in which wealth is produced, and postpones or neglects the consideration of the process by which it is distributed, being, it seems, attracted mainly by the agencies under which it is accumulated. Writers have been habituated to estimate wealth as a general does military force, and are more concerned with its concentration than they are with the details of its partition. It is not surprising that this should be the case. Most writers on political economy have been persons in opulent, or at least in easy, circumstances. They have witnessed with profound or interested satisfaction the growth of wealth in the classes to which they belong, or with which they have been familiar or intimate. In their eyes the poverty of industry has been a puzzle, a nuisance, a problem, a social crime. They have every sympathy with the man who wins and saves, no matter how; but they are not very considerate for a man who works. * * * In point of fact, ordinary political economy does not go further than to describe the process and some of the consequences of a state of war. The war is industrial, in which each man is striving to get the better of his neighbor, to beat him in the struggle for existence. Malthus and the elder Mill laid the Darwinian hypothesis before the modern prophet of the physical life of the future and the past began to speculate on natural forces."—Rogers: *Work and Wages*, pp. 523 * * 25.

"Take economics as an example. During the eighteenth century Adam Smith, having carefully observed the conditions which prevailed in Europe, and especially in Great Britain, wrote a book admirably suited to his environment, and the book met with success. Then men

man who would do nothing but struggle for more wealth, and the historical school argues from the conduct of a man so placed that he could do nothing but struggle for existence. The one has an abnormal man and the other abnormal conditions, and both arrive at abnormal results.⁴

386. The Field of Study—But, it is said, human character is of a low order, and all the world is under the reign of capitalism. If it be granted that both the imaginary economic man and the conditions under which real men act are abnormal, whence then the materials for either social or political science, if these cannot be trusted?

In the first place, it may be said that we may study real men and not imaginary ones, and if we do, the discovery of the endless changes of social and political forms wrought out with the world's advance will at once lead us beyond this modern, transitory, constantly shifting life under capitalism to the previous, and, from the standpoint of a student looking for social causes, to a more important period of man's existence. If we do this there will be revealed to us the steps by which this capitalism came into existence, as well as the elements within itself which will in the end make its further existence impossible. We shall learn that

undertook to erect the principles of that book into a universal law, irrespective of environment. Then others theorized on these commentators and their successors upon them until the most practical of business problems has been lost in a metaphysical fog.

"Now men are apt to lecture upon political economy as if it were a dogma, much as the nominalists and realists lectured in mediaeval schools. But a priori theories can avail little in matters which are determined by experiment." Adams: *The New Empire*, Introduction, pp. xxx., xxxi.

4. "A few years ago the proposition was made to remove economics from its place in the course of the British Association for the Advancement of Science on the ground that economic science had never shown itself worthy of the name. * * * If we take from political economy first all the truisms and then all the doubtful points our remainder will be a quantity closely approximating zero."—Lunt: *Economic Science*, pp. 3 * * 5.

it is true that the materials for a satisfactory social philosophy of any sort cannot be gathered until men shall first have healthful lives in the midst of healthful surroundings; that our human nature will never be able to reveal unto itself the real nature of its own life until the struggle for existence shall cease to be destructive of individual and social health.

387. May Learn the Next Step.—But while no complete philosophy of the whole of life is possible until the whole of life may be revealed to us, enough is known, and not seriously disputed by reputable scholarship, of our past and of the evolutionary advance of the race to enable the social economist to name the next step to be taken, and to enter into the struggle, by educational and political action, to effectively assist society in taking that next step.⁵ What the second step will be no one can tell, except by further observation, after the next step has been taken.

388. These limitations which the nature of the case has thrown around the student of social economy should be borne in mind while we inquire into some of the disputes between capitalists and Socialists as related to some of the more fundamental assumptions of economic science.

389. Is Capitalism Natural?—1. The capitalists assume that the wage system is the natural method of production.

If they meant by this that it was the natural result of the development of the race at a certain stage of its growth, in the same way that the ancient tribal communism, slavery and serfdom may all of them be said

5. "But the Socialists were men who had felt intensely and knew something about the hidden springs of human action of which the economists took no account. * * * The influence which they are now exercising on the younger economists in England and Germany is important, and I think for the greater part wholesome, even though the association with fervid philanthropy does perhaps cause some tendency to rapid and unscientific thinking."—Marshall: *Present Position of Economics*, p. 18.

to have been natural, there would be no dispute. But that is not their contention. They mean rather that it is the method of production originally practiced among men; that it has come into existence in the natural order of events and without violence, and that it is so inherent in the necessary relations of life that no rational order of society is possible without capitalism. Historically this is not true. In theory there is no dispute that that system of production is most natural, at any given time, which best adjusts itself to the economic forces and conditions of that time. Whether capitalism or Socialism best fits the new economic conditions so rapidly developing in all of the earth, is the question at issue. To assume that either is natural and the other is not, is to assume the very point in controversy. With this understanding of the word natural, even if the assumption were true at any particular stage in the world's growth, it would prove nothing. For as conditions change, the natural result would be the change of systems of organization to fit the changed conditions, so that what was natural at one time might be entirely unnatural at another time.

390. Capitalism of Recent Origin.—2. The capitalists assume that the wage system always has been and always will be the method of production.

It is not meant that they deny the historic facts regarding the existence of serfdom, slavery and the common ownership and co-operative industry of the primitive peoples. They simply ignore them and write as if the whole of human history had no lessons for them until capitalism had come. Whenever they write about the past or predict the future, it is always, in effect, as if with the assumption that the wage system always was and always will be in existence. As a matter of fact, as has been seen in our study of the evolution of capitalism, it is of very recent origin.

391. The Origin of Capital.—3. The capitalists assume that the beginning of capitalism, i. e., of the private ownership of land and machinery and the resulting dependence of the many on the consent of the few for an opportunity to live at all, was made as the result of saving, thrift and enterprise.

There is no place where the economists do greater violence to the truth than in this assumption. When confronted with the facts of history they admit that the facts are against them, but they obstinately continue to teach as scientifically true that which is known and admitted to be historically false. Take for example the following from Francis A. Walker, whose "Political Economy" is the text-book in a larger number of schools and colleges in America than any other publication. He says:⁶

392. Walker's Account.—"The origin of capital is so familiar that it need not be dwelt upon at length here. A very simple illustration may suffice. Let us take the case of a tribe dwelling along the shore and subsisting upon the fish caught from the rocks which jut into the sea. When the fish are plentiful the people live freely, even gluttonously. When their luck is bad they submit to privations which involve suffering, reaching sometimes to the pitch of famine. Now let us suppose that one of these fishermen, moved by a strong desire to better his condition, undertakes to lay by a store of fish. He denies himself and accumulates in his hut a considerable quantity of dried food. This is wealth. Whether it is to become capital or not depends upon the use which is to be made of it. If destined to be merely a reserve against hard times, it remains wealth; but does not become capital.

"But our fisherman, in laying by his store of fish,

6. Walker: Political Economy, pp. 62-64.

has higher designs than to equalize the food consumption of the year. As the dull season approaches, he takes all the food he can carry and goes to the hills, where he finds trees whose bark can be easily detached by sharp stones. Again and again he returns to his work in the hills, while his neighbors are painfully striving to keep themselves alive. At the end of the dull season he brings down to the water a canoe, so light that it can be borne upon his shoulders, so buoyant that he can paddle it out to the 'banks,' which lie two or three miles from the shore, where in one day he can get as many fish as he could catch off the rocks in a week.

"The canoe is capital; the fisherman is a capitalist. He can now take his choice of three things. He may go out in his canoe and bring home supplies of fish, which will allow him to marry and rear a family in comfort, and with his surplus hire some of his neighbors to build him a hut, their women to weave him blankets, and their children to bring water from the spring and wait upon his family; or, secondly, he may let out his canoe to some one, who will be glad to get the use of it on payment of all the fish one family could fairly consume, and himself stay at home in complete idleness, basking in the sun or on stormy days seeking refuge in his comfortable hut; or, which is more likely, he may, thirdly, let out the canoe and himself turn to advantage the knowledge and experience acquired by making canoes. Again and again he will appear upon the shore, bringing a new canoe, for the use of which a score of his neighbors will clamorously compete."

293. Theories Facing Facts.—To all this it must be said that this illustration shows the origin of capital, except in the following particulars: (1) There never was such a savage. The first canoe was the result of centuries of paddling about in the water. No one man

made it nor possessed it when it was made. (2) If there had been such a savage, he would not have fished for himself only, but for the tribe as well as for himself, and he would have been as ignorant of the "banks" three miles from the shore as he was of the building of canoes. The "banks" were found and used in common, and to this day the "fishing banks" are common property and are used co-operatively. (3) Bees, squirrels, ground hogs, and savages never lived after the manner outlined. It was reserved for capitalism to put its workers in a position to live gluttonously a part of the time (if at all) and to starve the rest of the time. The savages who were so advanced that they caught fish and used canoes, caught them for the tribal store house, and carried large stores in advance of the demand. (4) If such a savage had made such a boat, he would have been employed at once making boats and showing others how to make boats for the whole tribe. (5) If he had chosen to hold a boat for his own pleasure, he would have been permitted to do so, but with two boats he would have been obliged to select one for himself and the other would have become tribal property if needed for the common good. (6) He could not have hired other savages to fish for him or build a hut for him, neither could he have hired the wives or children of his neighbors to become his family's servants. The savages of that stage of development served each other as equals, not as menials. That was reserved for civilization to introduce. When savages lived on fish, each savage was alike responsible for all the duties of the husband and father for all of the women and children of the group. (7) He could not have rented his boat for a part of the catch. Such a proposal such savages would not have understood. Rent is a part of capitalism. (8) He could not have led an idle life while others provided fish for him.

He would have helped to get the fish or he would not have eaten. A leisure class which others feed is a part of capitalism. (9) He could not have made boats for sale. There was no private market for private profits.⁷ (10) It is seen that in every particular this illustration, by which we are to learn the origin of capital, is contrary to the facts.⁸ It assumes capitalism to be already in existence and proceeds to show how capitalism might be born by having capitalism serve as midwife on the occasion of its own birth. Thus, in the name of science, is a false position defended by an array of assumptions utterly at variance with the facts.

394. John Stuart Mill and the Duke of Argyll.—John Stuart Mill, when facing the same question, admits that his theory does not at all agree with the facts of history. He says: "In considering the institution of property as a question of social philosophy, we must leave out of consideration its actual origin in any of the existing nations of Europe."⁹ He then proceeds to discuss the question by "supposing," not a savage, but an impossible "community, unhampered by any previous possessions." He admits that no such community ever existed in Europe. The fact is that it never existed anywhere else. The further fact is that in the study of social institutions by evolutionary methods, the most important item of all is the "previous possession," the very thing which Mr. Mill ignores in his discussion of the origin of capitalism. The Duke of Argyll is more frank and truthful. In discussing this

7. You will find all these points confirmed in Morgan's *Ancient Society*, or by any other standard authority on the life of savages of the stage of development which Mr. Walker assumes.

8. "Two things have discredited political economy—the one is its traditional disregard for facts; the other, its strangling itself with definitions."—Rogers: *The Economic Interpretation of History*, Preface, p. viii.

9. Mill: *Political Economy*, p. 260; also see the whole of Chapter V. of Book I., Vol. I.

same question, he says: "It is the field of war, the field on which possession—the right of exclusive use over some particular portion of the earth—has been won, or on which it has been successfully defended. We may like or dislike the steady contemplation of this truth, but it is a fact, nevertheless, whatever we may think of it."¹⁰

395. War the Origin of Capital.—It is admitted that, with capitalism once in existence, certain individuals may be able to so manage as to corner the fish market and so be able to compel the wives and children of their neighbors to become their servants, but capitalism itself, the private ownership of the means of producing the means of life, must first be established. Not until the private ownership of the canoe was made of more importance than the life, liberty and equality of opportunity for men, women and children could such a capitalist be produced. It was necessary for the capitalistic class to appear, on the one hand, and for the serving class to appear on the other, before "saving, thrift and enterprise" could effect the rising of an individual from one class to the other, and this forcing of the class lines which separated the people into the two conditions of mastery and servitude, as Mr. Mill admits, as the Duke of Argyll directly states, and as was clearly proven in our study of the origin and development of capitalism in the second part of this volume, was the work of war. War has taken the earth away from the people. Socialism will restore it to them.

396. The Right to Buy and Sell.—4. The capitalist assumes that there can be no right to property of any sort which one may not buy and another sell.¹¹

10. Duke of Argyll: *Unseen Foundations of Society*, p. 113.

11. Not only the right to buy or to sell all kinds of property is assumed, but even the right of society to restore to public ownership

The answer is that the right to the means of producing the means of life is of the same nature as the right to life itself. The capitalist contends for the right to buy and sell productive property. The Socialist contends for the right to use productive property. The capitalist contends for the sacredness of trade, and he will admit no rights which will in any way imperil the continued possession of productive property in the hands of those who have it. The Socialist contends for the sacredness of life, and will admit no rights which will imperil either the fullest life or the completest liberty to those who need to use the means of producing the means of life.

397. Labor a Commodity.—5. The capitalist assumes that labor is a commodity, and as such may justly be bought and sold in the labor market.¹² The answer is that it is impossible to buy or sell labor apart from living laborers, that one cannot buy or sell labor without at the same time buying and selling laborers, and that the sale of a single laborer for a single hour is a crime against the whole race of man.

398. Self-Interest.—6. The capitalist assumes that the sole and only motive in industry is individual self-interest.¹³

The answer is that while this is not entirely the truth, the very great force of self-interest is not disputed. It is even insisted that economic conditions have always determined all other social forms and that the whole life of man now waits for social and political adjustment to new economic conditions. More than this: It is insisted that, while associated effort on the part of all can best provide for the needs of each, the self-interest of the individual, when each is

property not gotten by purchase from the public, but by force and fraud, is also denied. See Walker: *Political Economy*, pp. 385-398.

12. Walker: *Political Economy*, pp. 259-287.

13. Walker: *Political Economy*, p. 96.

acting alone and for himself, results in the destruction of public spirit. The "good business man" is likely either to be neglectful of his public duties or to attempt to take advantage of the public needs for the sake of his private profit. It would not be so under Socialism. When no one can serve himself except at the same time he serves society, nor serve society except he serves himself, then private interest and public spirit will join hands as mutually helpful economic forces. The more recent defenders of capitalism, speaking in the name of the science of economics, are siding with the Socialists in their contention that individual competition, the result of individual self-interest, cannot even exist as an active factor in the face of great combinations.¹⁴ Prof. Hadley says in the preface of his "Economics": "The size of the units of capital is so large that free competition often becomes impossible, and theories of economics which are based upon the existence of such competition prove blind guides in dealing with modern price movements."

399. Economic Justice.—7. The capitalist assumes that under competition all men and women will be able to secure what is just, and so provide for the highest welfare for each to which he can be justly entitled.¹⁵

14. "You cannot escape, try whatever you can, from the influence of competition, any more than from the survival of the fittest. But the survival of the fittest may be the survival of the analogue to Frankenstein's demon, while the effort of all true civilization is to improve those who are improvable, and to deal with the residuum. It is possible that the struggle for existence, unless controlled and elevated, may be the degradation of all. It nearly came to be so during the first thirty years of the present century."—Rogers: *Work and Wages*, p. 557.

15. Mill: *Political Economy*, Vol. II., pp. 378-381.

"But when we say that the pecuniary inequality of mankind is due to a corresponding inequality of brain-power, even if we limit this brain-power to the 'money-making' quality alone, we have gone a great way too far. We have left out one of the most important elements in the problem. We have only stated the subjective side of the question, and have neglected the objective side. We shall never

The answer is that if the parties to the competition were exact equals in strength, skill and good fortune, they might be able to exactly neutralize each other's efforts to serve society while striving with each other, but so long as any share of their strength is expended contending with each other, the largest production cannot be realized. It was the inequality of strength, skill and good fortune in war which made the coming of capitalism possible in the first place. Competition between the weak and the strong does not mean the welfare of both; it means the sweat-shop for the helpless and leisure and luxury for the strong.¹⁶ Socialism demands that the strength of society be used to perpetually maintain equal opportunities for those unequally endowed, in order that all may live. Capitalism demands unequal opportunities for those unequally endowed, and the inequality of opportunity which it enforces is against those who are weak and in behalf of those who are strong. Capitalism cannot give to each the highest welfare to which he can be entitled. It provides for the few, great and unearned benefits; and for

be wholly right until we remember that this inequality of possession is due to a corresponding inequality of circumstances. The inequality of brain-power is only the subjective part of these circumstances. We must also consider the objective part, the external circumstances which surround each individual, whether belonging to the fortunate or the unfortunate class. Men come into the world and find themselves loaded with wealth or destitute of all proprietary interests. They are born millionaires or beggars. They open their eyes upon boundless plenty or upon abject poverty. They merit neither praise nor blame for the conditions under which they exist. However commendable intellectual qualities may be considered, they have nothing to do with those external circumstances over which we have no control."—Ward: *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. I., pp. 522-23.

16. "It is in the highest degree desirable that competition should be severe, searching, unremitting. * * * But if competition is to be the law of trade, if self-interest is to be its predominant force, the members of the employing class must not only press hard upon each other—the harder the better—but they must bear heavily on the laboring class; and the more heavily the better, so long as the latter can withstand and return the pressure. * * * * *

"This, I repeat, is the ideal industrial condition: that the body of laborers shall be able to offer an adequate economic resistance to continuous pressure from the employing class, so that no favors need

the many, great poverty as pitiless as it is undeserved.¹⁷

400. "Letting Things Alone."—8. The capitalist assumes that the only duty of society toward industry and commerce is to let it alone.¹⁸

The answer is that all factory laws, all courts for the collection of debts, the enforcing of contracts and the punishment of crimes against property are a refusal of society to let industry and commerce alone. In fact, the very organization of society itself is a refusal to let alone the things which concern the whole body of the people. Society does interfere. It ought not to do so in behalf of those who by force have monopolized the resources and forces of nature and plead a let-alone policy for those who have been dispossessed. If it is to interfere at all, it should do so in behalf of all. But then, that is Socialism.

be asked, on the one side, so that there need be no flinching on the other, in the exaction of all which the most vigorous prosecution of self-interest may require."—Walker: *Discussions in Economics and Statistics*, pp. 307-9; see also "What Shall We Tell the Working Classes," *Scribner's Magazine*, Vol. II., pp. 619-27.

17. "Even the economists are beginning to see that 'free competition' in business is a myth unless it be protected from the universal tendency of all competition in nature speedily and surely to end in monopoly."—Ward: *Pure Sociology*, p. 568.

"When the principle of competition is set aside capitalist political economy goes with it. This principle is fundamental in the science, and in the facts of which it treats, unless violence intervenes."—Bascom: *Sociology*, p. 60.

18. "The conflict between capital and labor is very much of a delusion."—Laughlin: *Political Economy*, p. 347.

Mill: *Political Economy*, Vol. II., p. 569.

"Had economists worked out the most important part of their science, that which deals with the distribution of wealth, instead of merely busying themselves with hypothetical theories about rent, profits and population, they would have inculcated every one of those legislative acts which have seemed to control the production and distribution of wealth, but in reality have assisted the former, and have made the latter more natural, and therefore more equitable. I think that my contention, which I see quoted by Mr. Goschen, could be exhaustively proved, that every act of the legislature which seems to interfere with the doctrine of *laissez faire*, and has stood the test of experience, has been endorsed because it has added to the general efficiency of labor and therefore to the general well being of society."—Rogers: *Work and Wages*, pp. 527-28.

Ely: *Political Economy*, p. 221.

This let-alone contention is nothing less than the assumption that might is right, but with the limitation that the collective might of all must not be used to protect the common interest of all against the individual might of the strong in their contest against the weak. "Let things alone" means, don't interfere to stop the athletic thief from robbing a crippled beggar.

The might of greater strength, greater cunning or the accumulating power of greater or better organized industrial equipment in private hands may as ruthlessly rob as an outright highwayman, and society could justify its protection of the highwayman as easily as it could justify its protection of the greater strength, cunning or economic equipment of the private masters of the shop or market, in their economic war against those with inferior equipment, or entirely¹⁹ without the means of producing the means of life.¹⁹

401. The Iron Law of Wages.—9. The capitalist assumes that there is no possible provision for working men beyond the smallest wages for which the workers will consent to work in numbers large enough to do the work required.

The answer is that this is true under capitalism, but under Socialism there will be no such iron law of wages.

Under capitalism the private owners will always be striving to make the share of the products which falls to the workers the smallest possible. The competition

19. "Seventy-five years ago scarcely a single law existed in any country of Europe for regulating the contract for services in the interest of the laboring classes. At the same time the contract for commodities was everywhere subject to minute and incessant regulation. * * * Can there be any wonder that statesmen and the mass of the people entertain slight regard for political economy, whose professors refuse even to entertain consideration of the difference between services and commodities in exchange, and whose representatives in legislation have opposed almost every limitation upon the contract for labor as unnecessary and mischievous?"—F. A. Walker, Quoted by Wright in *Some Ethical Phases of the Labor Problem*, pp. 65-66.

for employment among the workers in the face of this effort to reduce wages on the part of employers establishes this tendency of wages always to reach the lowest level possible and still provide for the existence of the workers. This is the gist of the iron law of wages. It is obvious that it will remain a factor in the distribution of the products of labor only so long as the private owners of the means of production can continue to force the workers to compete with each other for the opportunity to live at all.

Under Socialism the total of the largest product which the workers are willing to produce will be the smallest reward for the workers themselves, for under Socialism those who are workers will no longer be compelled "to divide up" with those who are idlers in order to obtain their consent to become workers at all.

402. Summary.—1. All schools of economists, whether assuming the existence of an "economic man" or undertaking to observe the conduct of the ordinary man under capitalism, come to the same "dismal" conclusions as to the lot of man under capitalism.

2. Present institutions can be understood only by studying their origin and the processes of their development.

3. The capitalists assume all the leading features of capitalism as belonging to the normal and lasting lot of man:

(a) They assume that the wage system is the natural method of production. In the same sense, so was slavery natural.

(b) They assume capitalism always to have existed. It is of recent origin.

(c) They assume that capital originated in saving, thrift and enterprise. It owes its origin to war.

(d) They assume that labor may be properly bought

and sold. But labor cannot be sold except the laborer be sold with his labor.

(e) They assume that the sole and only motive in economics is individual self-interest. The collective self and the collective self-interest must also be considered.

(f) They assume the existence and the justness of competition. Free competition does not exist. By its own activities it has destroyed itself.

(g) They assume the wisdom of the "let-alone policy." But they let nothing alone involving their own interests. Society ought to act in behalf of all in all matters where the interests of all are involved.

(h) They assume the necessary existence of the "iron law of wages." This law holds only under capitalism. There will be no such law under Socialism.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. State difference between English and historical schools of economists.
2. Why are the conclusions of both schools so nearly to the same effect?
3. From what sources can the materials be obtained for study in economics?
4. What are some of the necessary limitations?
5. Is the wage system natural?
6. How old is capitalism?
7. What is the origin of capital?
8. Discuss positions of Walker, Mill and the Duke of Argyll.
9. On what is human progress now waiting?
10. Can economic justice exist under capitalism?
11. Shall society "let things alone?" Why?
12. Will the "iron law of wages" prevail under Socialism? Why?

CHAPTER XXV

THEORIES OF VALUE

403. The Exchange of Products.—The workers of the world are now producing goods to be sold in the world's market. Goods produced for the market are called commodities. In the sale and purchase of goods the fixing of a price at which the purchase or sale is made is necessary.

The purpose of all production and sale of goods is in order to be able to purchase other goods. All purchase and sale of goods is of the nature of exchanging products which one has produced in excess of what he wishes to use, for the products of others which he also wishes to use. All purchases and sales which would seem to be exceptions are merely steps in the process by which the producer and consumer "get together," and are therefore parts of this process of exchange.

404. Power in Exchange.—What determines the power of any given article to exchange itself for other articles in the market?¹ How many caps, shawls, coats

1. "It is not money that renders commodities commensurable. Just the contrary. It is because all commodities, as values, are realized human labor, and therefore commensurable, that their values can

of a certain kind can be obtained for a wagon load of wheat of a certain grade? This question is determined by learning the value of the wheat, and the value of the caps, shawls and coats to be exchanged. It is said that many things have value which cannot be exchanged in the market for anything at all. The air is the usual illustration of this sort of value. This is called "use value" and is not a matter of importance in this discussion.

Value, then, is the power which an article has to exchange itself in the market for other articles. It is quite likely that no other subject has been more hotly disputed by the economists than this subject of value; the question of controversy being, "What creates value?"

405. The Economists and Socialism.—Beginning with John Locke in the last decade of the seventeenth century,² Sir William Petty, Adam Smith, Benjamin Franklin, Ricardo, John Stuart Mill, Karl Marx, Henry George, and all the English economists prior to the work of Prof. Jevons, maintained in substantial

be measured by one and the same special commodity, and the latter be converted into the common measure of their values, i. e., into money." —Marx: Capital, p. 66.

2. "And thus, without supposing any private dominion and property in Adam over the world, exclusive of all other men, which can no way be proved, nor any one's property be made out from it, but supposing the world, given as it was to the children of men in common, we see how labor could make men distinct titles to several parcels of it for their private uses, wherein there could be no doubt of right, no room for quarrel.

"Nor is it so strange as perhaps, before consideration, it may appear, that the property of labor should be able to overbalance the community of land, for it is labor, indeed, that puts the difference of value in anything; and let any one consider what the difference is between an acre of land planted with barley or sugar, sown with wheat or barley, and an acre lying in common without any husbandry upon it, and he will find that the improvement of labor makes the far greater part of the value. I think it will be but a very modest computation to say, that of the products of the earth useful to the life of man, nine-tenths are the effects of labor. Nay, if we will rightly estimate things as they come to our use, and cast up the several expenses about them—what in them is purely owing to nature and what to labor—we shall

agreement that labor creates value. But, as Kirkup remarks, "The economists, however, did not follow the principle to its obvious conclusions, that if labor is the source of wealth the laborer should enjoy it all. It was otherwise with the Socialists, who were not slow to perceive the bearing of the theory on the existing economic order."³

406. All Theories Lead to Socialism.—It is not the purpose of this chapter to enter into the controversy as to which of the many theories of value is most scientific, but to state all the more widely known theories of value and to point out that all alike reveal the injustice of the "existing economic order," and that it is necessary to reorganize production and exchange if current social production is to provide for the current social welfare.

407. Theories of Value.—Prof. Gide names four theories of value.⁴ They are substantially:

1. Utility is the cause of value.
2. Scarcity is the cause of value.

find that in most of them ninety-nine hundredths are wholly to be put on the account of labor."—Locke: *Civil Government* (John Morley Library Edition), p. 211, et seq.

"* * * And so far as we are aware, it is the first assertion that Value is due to human Labor."—Macleod: *History of Economics*, p. 636, thus speaks of this passage from Locke.

"The theory which bases the right of property upon labor represents likewise what we find among animals and among savages. A pair of birds build a nest, and the nest then becomes the nest of these birds. The savage builds a hut for himself and his mate, and it becomes his hut until a stronger tribe comes and seizes or destroys it. He may be said to own the materials and the site by the right of first occupation, and the finished hut by the right of labor. Grotius, in criticising the Roman jurist Paulus, who had already anticipated Locke's theory and made labor a justification of property, points out that, since nothing can be made except out of pre-existing matter, acquisition by means of labor depends ultimately on possession by means of occupation."—Ritchie: *Natural Rights*, p. 268.

3. Kirkup: *A History of Socialism*, Chapter VII., p. 157.

4. "Economists have always sought for the causes of value, and each school, according to its respective tendencies, has fastened on to one or other of them. Utility, scarcity, difficulty of attainment and labor are the principal ones which have been specially pointed out as the real cause or causes.—Gide: *Political Economy*, p. 54.

3. Difficulty of attainment is the cause of value.

4. Labor is the cause of value.

Prof. Hadley only recognizes what he calls the "competitive and the socialistic theories of value," but says there may be "as many different theories of value as there are different views of business ethics." His competitive theory is the utility theory and his socialistic theory is the old theory of the English economists, namely, the labor cost of production.⁵

408. Utility.—Prof. Jevons, who was the first to teach the utility theory, says: "Cost of production determines supply; supply determines final degree of utility; final degree of utility determines value," and Prof. Alfred Marshall calls attention to the fact that if cost of production determines utility and utility determines value, one might as well drop utility out of the series and agree with the old economists that cost of production (labor) determines value, because, says Marshall, "If A causes B, and B causes C, then A causes C."⁶

5. "Value being essentially an ethical term, we may have as many different theories of value as there are different views of business ethics. But these views fall under two main heads; the commercial or competitive theory, which bases value upon what the buyer is willing and able to offer for an article; and the socialistic theory, which bases it upon what the article has cost the seller in the way of toil and sacrifice. When we have grasped this ethical character of the controversy between the commercial and socialistic theories, we seize more clearly upon the points which are essential to the adjudication of this controversy. The question between the two parties is not primarily one of fact, but of advisability, not what necessarily determines value, but what kind of a price we shall stamp with our approval by calling it a value. The commercial theory is that the value of an article is the price which it would command under a system of free and open competition, as distinct from one which is the result of special bargaining or fraudulent concealment. In this sense, the market price represents the temporary value of an article, and the normal price represents its permanent value. The advocates of the commercial theory hold that the competitive system serves the economic interests of society so well that the first rule of business morals is to conform thereto, and that the demands of commercial justice are generally satisfied by a schedule of prices made under the influence of fair and open competition, as allowed and encouraged by the common law of England and America."—Hadley: *Economics*, pp. 92-93.

6. Marshall: *Principles of Economics*, p. 566.

409. Scarcity.—In the same way, it might be said that if scarcity causes the value of staple commodities, more labor might increase the supply and lessen the scarcity, or less labor lessen the supply and increase the scarcity. And so again: Labor determines scarcity and scarcity determines value. If so, then labor determines value.

410. Difficulty of Attainment.—Again, it might be said that if difficulty of attainment causes value, only labor can overcome the difficulties and produce the goods. The only possible measure of the difficulties is labor, and so, finally: Labor overcomes, measures or determines difficulties; difficulties determine value, or labor determines value.

411. Competitive and Socialistic.—Take Prof. Hadley's competitive theory of value in the same way. Competition determines value. But who are the competitors? How can any one competitor hope to outsell his rivals? Manifestly only by offering more products for a smaller sum. How can he do this? Only by more efficient labor or better machinery. But labor produced the machinery. Therefore, more or more effective labor expended in the building and using of machinery is the only way by which the successful competitor fixes the ruling or normal price; that is, establishes the value in the market of any given article. And so, if competition causes value, and labor, in building and using the machinery of production, determines competition, then labor determines competition and competition determines value. Again, drop out the central step in the series and labor determines value.

412. Labor and the Produce of Labor.—Jevons says: "I hold labor to be essentially variable, so that its value must be determined by the value of the produce, not the value of the produce by that of the la-

bor.”⁷ This is like contending that a son is as tall as his father, but that the father is not as tall as the son. If the produce determines the value of labor, in the long run, then it can do so only because of its relation to labor as its creator. The produce cannot, in the nature of things, determine the value of labor, in the long run, unless conversely the labor is the measure of the value of the produce.

The Socialists would be just as willing to measure the value of labor by the value of the produce of labor, as to measure the value of the produce by the labor. Stated either end ahead, this is the very core of the controversy. Do labor and the produce of labor mutually determine the value of each other? And if labor has the power to produce goods for the market in excess of what it can buy out of the market, is not that share of its products which it produces and cannot buy a surplus product which it is compelled to produce but cannot have?⁸ If it can produce it, why can it not have all it produces?

413. Marginal Utility.—The Austrian economists while not abandoning the historical method have added deductive processes to their methods of study. Wieser and Böhm-Bawerk are of this school, as well as most of the current American defenders of capitalism. These economists contend for still another theory of value, that is, that marginal utility determines value⁹—that is, the value of any article is deter-

7. Jevons: *Theory of Political Economy*.

8. “We know, however, from what has gone before, that the labor process may continue beyond the time necessary to reproduce and incorporate in the product a mere equivalent for the value of the labor-power. Instead of the six hours that are sufficient for the latter purpose, the process may continue for twelve hours. The action of labor-power, therefore, not only reproduces its own value, but produces value over and above it. This surplus value is the difference between the value of the product and the value of the elements consumed in the formation of that product; in other words, of the means of production and the labor power.”—Marx: *Capital*, p. 191.

9. These economists mean by “marginal utility” practically the same thing as Professor Jevons meant by “final utility.”

mined by the last margin of demand. This means that, **had the price been higher**, some one who did buy at the current price and whose purchase was necessary in order to maintain the price, would not have bought; and so the "higgling of the market" would have forced down the average price in the market, and so the value of the article in question. But that last margin of demand for any given article may constantly fluctuate, as labor and machinery are more or less effective in the production of the articles exchanged against each other, and so labor, in the building or using of the machinery of production, comes back as the one universal and indispensable factor in determining value.

414. Labor and Machinery.—If, however, a distinction is to be drawn between labor and machinery, and values held to be the joint product of both labor and machinery, with the result that labor is getting more than its share of the product in wages, and machinery is getting less than the share which machinery creates, as is contended, then, inasmuch as machinery has no personal needs, no standard of living to maintain and no children to educate, the workers who do have all these demands to meet ought to own the machinery in order that they may have for their own use the total product of their own labor and their own machinery. And it is not sound public policy not to so provide the workers with their own tools.

415. Justifying Exploitation.—In seeking after the "cause of value" it is not an impertinent inquiry to ask after the cause of this change in the theories of value. Why have the economists abandoned the old ground? Why do they persist in denying that labor, the work of mind and hand, past and present, the creative power of man applied to natural resources, creates all wealth and that as there is more or less of the

waste of life in the creation of any given article, in the long run, and in the large and general average, there is more or less of value? Is not the denial of this labor theory of value primarily an effort to find a theoretical justification for the wealth of the idlers and the poverty of the toilers?

416. Supply and Demand.—If it be admitted that marginal utility, that is, the balance of supply and demand, fixes the ratios at which articles exchange for each other at any given time, still it is true that labor alone can provide the supply, and will be able to provide the supply for the larger or smaller demand only as the larger or smaller demand is, in the last analysis, made against vital human energy wasted in the processes of production. There is no theory of value under which one can provide more seats at an opera with the house already packed, in time for the entertainment already under way, or increase the supply of strawberries, after the season for planting has already passed. But labor alone can increase the number of opera seats, or the strawberry crop, in order to meet a later and larger demand.

The effort to find an economic defense for the exploitation of labor through abstract, conflicting theories of value, will not avail. They cannot change the facts of the current economic situation.

417. Service for Service.—No Socialist asks for the service of others without reward. The Socialist cannot be thrust aside from the effort to secure to all the just reward of industry and the equal opportunity for all to be industrious, by any theories regarding the abstract question as to what causes value.

418. Monopoly and Value.—We must not lose sight of another and most important consideration. Price is the value of any given article stated in terms of money. But this price, this value, is fixed arbitrarily

as to some articles, by the trusts; and the power of the trust-controlled articles to compel an exchange in the market without any regard to the cost of production, either in labor or in the use of machinery, without any regard to utility, scarcity, or difficulty of attainment, and without the competition on which Prof. Hadley depends to determine values,—this power to force exchanges at arbitrary prices is purely a power which exists as the result of monopoly, under which the sole consideration is “not to charge more than the traffic will bear.” If it be said that this is the very process by which values are determined and that “what the traffic will bear” is the measure of marginal utility,—that last and final sale without which prices must fall—then the answer is, that this is essentially not a process of exchange, but of outright robbery. It is taking the “golden eggs” as rapidly as the industrial “goose” will lay them, and providing the goose with such returns only as will keep up the laying of more eggs. This is exactly what is taking place. Labor is able to sell itself only for the cost in labor of producing more labor. But labor produces more than the cost of its own reproduction. This product of labor in excess of the labor cost of producing labor is the “surplus value” of Karl Marx. Its appropriation by the capitalist is possible because of monopoly in the ownership of the means of producing the means of life. The process of creating and appropriating this surplus the capitalist calls employing labor. The Socialist calls it exploiting labor.

419. Theft, Not Exchange.—This is not exchange. It is theft. It is the robber taking all the victim has, except enough to induce him to produce some more in order that the next intended robbery may still be productive of the largest possible returns. But, if the rule of the robber is to be ruled out, and justice in exchange

is to be sought for, then the ultimate of all exchanges is an exchange of the services of labor. And there can be no other basis than that of service for service, of labor for labor,—how much of labor in producing oil, for how much of labor in producing bread? No theory of values can apply in explaining how oil sells for thirty times its cost, both in labor and in the use of machinery in its production, with wide fields of undeveloped oil, and whole armies of the poorly paid waiting for better jobs.¹⁰ Private monopoly is the only explanation. This private monopoly is unendurable. It cannot last. Collective ownership, and the collective use of the means of production, is the only remedy for this private monopoly. Collective ownership and democratic management will leave labor the only claimant against the products of industry, no matter what theories of value may be thought to be most scientific.

420. Who, Not What, Produces Value.—“The real question is not what produces value, but who produces value?” And if the real producer is producing values which for any reason he cannot have for his own use, while those who produce nothing do have his products to use, then it becomes a question of sound public policy to create such conditions as will enable those who produce values to have, for their own use, the values which they produce.¹¹

10. “The certainty that a competitor will be ruined, if he appears, takes away all probability of his appearing; and this probability affords the only natural check of any importance on the action of the monopoly.”—Clark: *The Control of the Trust*, p. 75.

11. “Every man has the right to the product of his own industry, because it is a part of himself; into it he has put a portion of his life. His life is his own, therefore this portion of his life is his own. The artist paints a picture; the musician composes a symphony; the author writes a book; into this picture, this symphony, this book, the artist, musician, author, has gone. Because the artist has projected himself into the picture, the musician into the symphony, the author into the book, this product of himself belongs to him. And what is true of the artist, of the musician, of the author, is true of every laborer. The shoemaker projects himself into the shoes; the carpenter into the house;

421. The Share of Nature.—In so far as different persons jointly perform necessary services in the creation of values, let each have his just share of the values so created. If nature contributes and stands ready to contribute in the production of value, and if society as a whole contributes and stands ready to contribute in the production of value, then no possible scheme of distributive justice can justly give to any one a greater claim than to each and to all, so far as nature and society contribute to the production of value.

422. Machinery.—If machinery and organization contribute and stand ready to contribute in the creation of value, they are lifeless and inanimate things, and can have no wants, and therefore can have no rights, and those who stand between the worker and

the loom-worker into the cloth. These also are a part of the man. Into them he has put his brain work or his handiwork; therefore they are his. This right of every man to the product of his own labor is a natural right. Society did not confer it; society cannot take it away. Society may fail to protect it, or may violate it, but the right itself is absolute. Wherever organic law violates this right it is unjust; whenever it fails to protect this right it is inefficient. It was for this reason that slavery was unjust. The injustice of slavery did not lie in the fact that they were ill-fed, ill-clothed, or ill-housed. If it had been true that they were better housed and fed and clothed in slavery than in freedom, still slavery would not have been justified. The evil of slavery was not that families were separated. If the law had provided explicitly that slave families should not be separated, still slavery would have been unjust. The injustice was not in specific acts of cruelty. If there had never been a Legree, still slavery would have been unjust. It was not that the slave was denied education. In Rome the slaves were educated, and authors, copyists and literary men were held in slavery, and slavery was not just. The wrong of slavery lay in this: that personality was invaded; the product of the man was taken from him; he had put a part of his life out into the world and he was robbed of it. Whenever and howsoever society does this, it does injustice.

So, again, if society is so organized that men cannot engage in productive industry, it is unjustly organized. The command, "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou earn thy daily bread," involves a prerogative even more than a command. If society is so organized that large masses of men cannot, by the sweat of their brow, earn their daily bread, it is unjustly organized. "Enforced idleness," says Carlyle, "is the Englishman's hell." There have been times in the past, in the history of this country,—and if the industrial organization of to-day remains unchanged there will be such times in the future,—when thousands of men have been driven into that enforced idleness which is the Englishman's hell. Any organization of society which prevents masses of the people from earning their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, or which

his tools must render a better service, if they wish to share in the products, than simply to consent to the use of the lifeless tools and to the benefits of organization. If they can prove a right to the private ownership of the tools, which the workers cannot use without the consent of those who are not workers, and these idlers will not consent unless they be permitted to appropriate values they do not create, then it is contrary to wise public policy that the workers shall longer be without the tools of production to freely use in their own behalf.

423. Human Energy and the Landlord, the Capitalist and the Laborer.—Nature and the past efforts of society may have provided the means of production, but production is impossible without the present expenditure of individual human energy, that is, human life.

That in the production of value the landlord contributes human energy or life is denied.

That in the production of value the capitalist contributes human energy, or life, in the form of machinery and organization, is admitted. That he contributes his own energy, or life, is denied. Machinery and organization are simply the union of raw materials, freely furnished by nature, and human labor, energy, or life, in time past. It will be rarely found to have been produced by the union of free raw materials and the labor, energy, or life, of their present possessors. The

fails to enable them so to earn it if they will to do so, is an unjust organization of society. So, any organization of society which, allowing men to work, still fails adequately and rightfully to adjust the relations between the workers, and takes so much for the one class that it leaves practically nothing for the other class, or leaves them but a mere pittance and bare subsistence, is an unjust organization of society. The man who has put his life into his labor has a right to the product of that life. If, in the complexity of modern society he is combined with others in that production, he has a right to a fair, just and equable share in the product of the combined industry."—Abbott: *Rights of Man*, pp. 104-106.

fact that the capitalist possesses the machinery and organization, and that the laborer does not, is not a proof of the former's rightful possession. If they are to be used to impoverish and enslave the worker, then this situation, instead of proving the capitalist's right to social protection in appropriating the products of the laborer, only proves the laborer's right to social protection while he constructs for his own use the tools of his own industry.

424. The Reward of Tyranny.—That the manager contributes labor, energy, or life, in the management of industry is not denied. The Socialist asks that all such necessary labor shall be justly rewarded. But the manager does not contribute what the workers cannot better contribute. He does not provide the management in the manner most economical and beneficial to the workers themselves. And finally, he does exercise personal, tyrannical control in the management of the industry of others, holding the workers in the relation of servants. Whereas, industrial democracy will not only produce better industrial results, but will immediately make the workers free men and women. The managers ought not to be rewarded by the workers with any share of the products for managing the enterprise in such a manner as secures the smallest returns for the workers and holds them as the victims of the relation of mastery and servitude as the condition of their existence.

425. Summary.—1. The value of any article means the amount of its purchasing power in exchange for other articles in the market.

2. If value is created by labor, it follows that the laborers who create the value ought to have the values their labor creates.

3. If value is not created by labor alone but by "social conditions," by "mental attitudes," by ma-

chines, by "social factors" other than labor, then sound public policy demands that all social factors shall serve all mankind alike and the least society can do is to provide equal economic opportunities for all.

4. All theories of value fail in the presence of monopoly, and monopoly controls the means of producing the means of life. Vast organizations of industry make possible great economies, but if privately controlled involve monopoly.

5. Services cannot be rendered nor goods produced without the waste of human energy, or life. Whoever refuses to contribute of his energy, or life, to the service of others can have no just claim to the service or to the goods which are produced with the waste of energy, or life, of others.

6. If under current conditions goods are so produced and services are so rendered that those who produce goods, or render service, or are ready to render service, cannot secure the service or the goods of others in the same proportion as they are ready to serve others, then sound public policy demands such a change as shall create such conditions as will make this possible, but that is Socialism.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Why is the exchange of goods necessary?
2. What single thing is possessed in common by all exchangeable goods?
3. What is value?
4. Who first taught the labor theory of value?
5. Who afterward taught it?
6. What advantage did the Socialists take of this theory?
7. Name other theories of value.
8. Who first taught the utility theory?
9. Show that labor has an important place in all theories of value.
10. Who teach the marginal utility theory? What is this theory?
11. If labor and machinery are joint producers, what then?
12. How is labor related to supply and demand?
13. How does monopoly affect all theories of value?
14. What is meant by charging all the traffic will bear? What is surplus value?
15. What is the only rational remedy for monopoly?
16. Compare what with who, in the inquiry for the cause of value.
17. Who contribute to production? Who should share?
18. Can the service of the private manager be better provided for?
19. Why is private management objectionable?

CHAPTER XXVI

JUSTICE IN EXCHANGE—THE MONEY QUESTION

426. The Origin of Money.—In the earlier forms of society, when each tribe produced, stored and used, under common ownership, by co-operative labor and for the common use of all the tribe, there was no money because there was no private exchange for profits and so no call for any general medium of exchange. There was no system of credits, and hence, no debts, and therefore no call for a means by which the debtor could pay and discharge the claims of the creditor. There was no general market, and hence, no demand for any single measure by which the power of any article in the market, to exchange itself for any other article, could be easily determined.

427. The Necessity for Money.—With the development of private ownership in the means of production, and the coming of the market, it became necessary to provide something which could be used in all of these several ways. The occasion for money did not exist until private ownership in the means of production and individual enterprise in the management of exchange had first come, and with the displacement of these it will again disappear in all of the main functions which

it now performs. But with private ownership and individual enterprise in the work of production and exchange once in force, or so long as they remain in force, there can be no subject in economics of more importance than that of money.¹

It is the purpose of this chapter to show just what the service of money is, how great its importance now is, why some of its functions—and those the ones always in dispute—will not be needed under Socialism, and hence, how the whole money question, which is incapable of just solution under capitalism, will vanish with the coming of the co-operative commonwealth.

423. Not at First the Creature of Law.—Money was not created by legislation. It existed before legislation and independent of the legislator. It came into existence not by political action, good or bad. It came into existence along with the market and solely because of its economic necessity.

429. Earliest Forms of Money.—All sorts of things have been used as money. Cattle were an old form of money. The word “pecuniary,” meaning of, or relating to money, is derived from “pecus,” meaning cattle, and so there is preserved to us, in this word, an allusion to the fact that among all European peoples the money was once cattle. Sheep, wheat, dates, rice, cocoa, olive oil, rock salt, tea, tobacco, whiskey, beaver skins, iron, tin, lead, copper, platinum, and gold and silver, are among the things which have been used as money. The American Indians had a method of making records by the use of beads so strung on strings and woven together as to make a hieroglyphic representation of things and events. They were made into belts and other ornaments. The beads were made of

1. “The division of labor converts the product of labor into a commodity, and thereby makes necessary its further conversion into money.”
—Marx: *Capital*, p. 81.

variously colored shells and embodied a good deal of labor. The finished product was called wampum and was used as money.

430. Necessary Qualities.—It was found by experience that whatever was to be used for money should possess in the highest degree possible five qualities: (1) It should be imperishable; (2) have large value in small compass and weight; (3) be capable of being divided into very small quantities, and be reunited if necessary without injury; (4) easy to recognize, and (5) all samples should be alike. It is because silver and gold so largely possess these qualities that they were finally adopted as the money of the world.²

While money was at the first established by the economic necessities of the market, when once established, political intrigue and legislative action in the manipulation of the money metals, and in making national notes or bonds for payment in one or the other, or both of them, have at one time protected and at another defrauded the public through all the years of their history.

431. Its Functions.—According to the economists there are three functions of money: (1) a medium of ex-

2. "The ideal requisites for a perfect money material have been well stated, among others, by Jevons; but it is necessary to separate these, accordingly as they apply to a standard, or to a medium of exchange:

I. Standard (1) Value; (2) Standard of value.

II. Medium of Exchange; (3) Portability; (4) Indestructibility; (5) Homogeneity; (6) Divisibility (and reunion); (7) Cognizability.

"It will be seen at a glance that, where the medium of exchange is different from the standard, the requisites can not be indifferently applied to both. Articles whose prices are expressed in terms of the standard, may be actually exchanged by means which do not call the standard into use. * * * As soon as legal conditions permitted any permanence of contracts, and as soon as the time element entered materially into industrial relations (especially with the extension of division of labor), the third function of money as a standard of deferred payments assumed importance. This function, however, is not different from that of a simple standard, except that the former covers comparisons in which the time element appears. By some it might be regarded only as a case of the standard function. It is not important, however, how it is distinguished, provided only that the problems arising from the time element in contracts shall receive full attention."—Laughlin: *The Principles of Money*, pp. 21-22.

change; (2) a measure of value; (3) a standard for the settlement of deferred payments.

432. A Medium of Exchange.—1. As a medium of exchange money is simply a labor-saving device. One produces bread only and wishes to exchange bread in the market for all his other necessities, such as other articles of food and his clothing, fuel and house rent. With such a purpose in mind he comes with a load of bread. But suppose there is no money, no single article which can be used with which to fix the price of the bread and of all the articles to be obtained with bread. How many loaves of bread for a ton of coal, a coat, a month's rent? Before he can sell his bread he must fix a price, and as there is no money he must make up a list of all the articles he wants, about the cost of production of most of which articles he knows little or nothing, but nevertheless he must fix a price for each, in bread, or a price for his bread in each of the other articles, which is the same thing. How many loaves of bread is a coat worth? How many loaves of bread is a ton of coal worth? If he will make up a full market report of the price of bread he must make an entry for every other article in the market. If the merchant wanted to mark the price of his goods and there were but one hundred articles in the market and no money in existence, he would be obliged to make as many entries for each article as he had articles in his store.

But this is not all. When our baker had established the value of his bread in all of the articles which he desired to purchase, it would yet be necessary to find those who had the food, clothing, fuel and rent in quantities to exchange for bread and of the kinds and qualities which the baker could use. It is readily seen that it would be an impossible undertaking to find the man who would have what the baker wants and would want what the baker has. Under the wage system it would

be about as impossible to do business without money as it would be to do business without transportation. And so all races of men, whenever they have reached the stage of attempting exchanges have hit upon some article which all would accept, not because all wanted to use the article, but inasmuch as all would accept it, the prices of all other articles could be fixed in the terms of this one article, and so all articles be more easily exchanged for each other.

433. A Measure of Value.—2. The economists also teach that money is a measure of value.³ It is easy enough to use a foot rule in measuring lengths. How can one use money to measure the value of things? In doing this there are two things to be comprehended: one is the measure itself and other is the thing measured. The length of the foot rule is arbitrarily determined by a standard foot with which any particular rule can be compared. With this for a standard, the length of which is easily comprehended, it is easy to determine and to understand greater or shorter lengths by applying the rule. Not so with money. To be sure there is a standard dollar, but that is a standard of weight and fineness by which the weight and fineness of any particular dollar can be determined; but that does not in any way help us to understand the value of the dollar, of proper weight and fineness, which is itself to be the measure of other values. How can this measure of value itself be measured so that one can comprehend its value and so comprehend the value of the other things to which this measure may be applied?

434. Value.—In the discussions of the economists they make the word “value” mean the power which

3. “The first chief function of money is to supply commodities with the material for the expression of their values, or to represent their values as magnitudes of the same denomination, quantitatively equal, and quantitatively comparable. It thus serves as a universal measure of value.”—Marx: Capital, p. 66.

any given article has to exchange itself in the market for other articles, and the word "price" is made to mean that exchange value expressed in the terms of money, as in dollars and cents.⁴ Thus it is seen that any article has more or less value as it is able to exchange itself for a larger or smaller quantity of other goods; and the price is high or low as it indicates the greater or less power of an article to so exchange itself for other things.

435. A Common Quality of All Goods.—There is only one thing which the things which have power to exchange themselves in the market all have in common, and that is the labor power, the waste of human life expended in their production. This is as true of the original dollar as it is of wheat or cloth. Just as all things have length, and so a fixed and standard rule of given length can be used to measure all other things as to length, so all of the things in the market, which have power there to exchange themselves for other things, have this one quality in common, and no other, that the production of each article involves the waste of human life. If there is to be any measure which can determine the relation of these articles to each other it must be something common to them all, and further it must be something which, if possessed in a larger or smaller degree, will correspondingly increase or diminish the power of any article to exchange itself for other things. That which is exchanged in the market is not really wheat and cloth and iron; it is the services which produced the wheat and cloth and iron, the human energy, that is, the human life expended in their production; and hence, the real question, always unstated, but always present, is: How much of human life expended in the production of

4. "Price is the money-name of the labor realized in a commodity."
—Marx: *Capital*, p. 74.

wheat shall be exchanged for how much of human life expended to produce cloth or iron? The same thing is true of all other articles in the market, including the gold in a dollar as truly as the cotton in a shirt.

Under capitalism it is assumed that gold or silver, or silver and gold together, with printed promises to pay one or the other or both, can be used as a just measure of value. This will be disputed further on, but in this place the purpose is to make clear how this measure of value is applied in actual use.

436. Applying the Measure.—If one goes into the market with any article which he has made, he knows what it has cost him in labor. If he knows nothing of the other articles and the price is fixed on them in the terms of some other article, as money, and he can learn the price of the article which he has brought, through his knowledge of his own article, and his ability to compare its price with the price of all the rest, he can at once measure the value of all the other articles, as related to his own, and so be able to understand their relation to himself, as a wealth-producer, and to estimate with some degree of accuracy what each article would cost him in time and toil to become its possessor.

437. Both Medium and Measure.—The value of other things in the market is determined by their ability to exchange for more or less money. The value of money is in the same way determined by its ability to exchange for more or less of other things. An individual is able to comprehend the range of all values by the relation of the price of each in money to the price of some article which he has himself produced. He exchanges his own products for money only to again exchange the money for other products. He is exchanging his own products, which he cannot use, for the products of others, which he can use, and money not only acts as a medium of exchange, but measures and

reveals the value of each article while making the exchange.

The value which things have for use independent of their power in the market is called use value. Air has the greatest use value but no exchange value. Money as a measure of value has to do with exchange values only. There is no such thing in economics as a measure of use values. Political economy takes no account of use values. It only deals with things as related to the market. It is the power of things in the market to exchange themselves for other things which it is the function of money to measure.

438. A Standard of Deferred Payments.—3. The economists further teach that it is the function of money to act as a standard for the settlement of deferred payments.

Whatever is the standard for the settlement of deferred payments ought not to fluctuate in its own value; that is, its ability to exchange itself for the general average of other things ought to be the same at all times. If one sells and buys again at the same time, the same range of prices is in force when he buys as when he sells. The measure and medium of exchange has not had the time to shrink or lengthen after he has let go the article of his own production, and before he has gotten the article which he was seeking for his own use. But if one sells today and then buys a year later, it will be rare indeed that he will be able to buy for the same money the same things as when he sold a year before. Or if one lends to another on a year's time, it will be very rare that he will be able to buy the same things for the same money on the day of payment as when the loan was made. If he lends wheat and wheat is to be paid again and the price of wheat doubles in the meantime, other things remaining unchanged, he can buy twice as much with the wheat re-

turned as he could have bought with the wheat he had lent at the time the loan was made. In the same way if one borrows money with which to buy from the market things for his use, and depends on selling, at a later day in order to get the money with which to make repayment, if the range of prices goes down, that is, if the value of money as measured by the things it will buy, goes up, then the debtor must sell more things to get the money with which to make his payment than he was able to buy with the money he had borrowed. If, on the other hand, average prices had advanced, that is, if money had become cheaper as compared with the things which it would buy, then the debtor would sell fewer things to get the money with which to make his repayment and the creditor would be able to buy fewer things with the money paid, although he had the same number of dollars, than he could have bought with the money he lent at the time the loan was made.

439. The Debtor and Creditor.—Every increase in the value of money, as compared with things which money buys, is a benefit to the creditor and an injury to the debtor. Every decrease in the value of money is a corresponding injury to the creditor and benefit to the debtor. This is the reason why those who have lent money are always wanting it to be scarce and therefore dear, and those who have borrowed money always want it plentiful and therefore cheap. It shows why in every money war the creditors and debtors are always arrayed against each other.⁵

440. The Ratio Between Other Things and Dollars.—It is a general law of the economists that whenever

5. "The question of money, or of credit, for they are the same, is only of superficial importance, and really does not interest the wage worker, being wholly a question between the debtor and the creditor class. When the creditor lends his money, he wants it cheap, or rather plenty, with a minimum purchasing power. When he collects it, he wants it dear, with a maximum purchasing power."—J. K. Ingalls: *Economic Equities*, p. 54.

the supply of any article is increased, the demand remaining the same, the power of any fixed amount of that article to exchange itself for other things, that is, its value, is correspondingly decreased; but if the supply should be decreased, under the same conditions, then the value would correspondingly increase. Stated in another way this law means that a big crop means a low price per bushel, and a crop failure a large price per bushel. When this law is applied to money it works in the same way as when applied to any other article. It means that the more money there is in circulation and available for business the less each dollar will buy and the easier it is for those with other things to sell to get dollars, but it also means that the fewer dollars there are in circulation and available for business the more each dollar will buy and the harder it is for those with other things to sell to get dollars in exchange for other things.

441. Printed Dollars.—In consideration of this fact it has been proposed to abandon the plan of having the material of each dollar of the same value as the dollar itself and to substitute printed dollars, of no value in themselves but to make them valuable not as has been so often said, by “act of congress” declaring them valuable, but, through the power of congress to make them receivable for government charges, by making them receivable by all who enforce their collections through the courts and by limiting their volume. It is this power to determine what shall pass as a legal tender, be receivable for public charges and the power to control the volume of money which could make a good and sound currency, without gold, by act of congress, if it were only certain that congress itself would at all times be good and sound. There is no mathematical or economic difficulty in the way of doing so, but there would be no natural limit to the number of dollars

which might be printed. It is evident that the creditors would always be struggling for fewer dollars and the debtors for more of them, and the danger of disaster would always be present in every act of congress. By act of congress the volume could be unduly limited as well as unduly extended and there would be the possibility of using the action of congress to distress the debtor as well as for his relief. As a matter of fact, in dealing with the greenbacks, the power of congress has been almost uniformly used in the interest of those who were anxious for fewer dollars rather than for the relief of those who would be helped by the larger number of dollars.

442. Bank-Made Money.—The money-lenders have resorted to the paper dollar of the private banking corporations.⁶ While in the use of such money disaster is likely to fall all the time on the borrowers, the danger of its use is greater than in the use of “money by

6. “The system of public credit, i. e., of national debts, whose origin we discover in Genoa and Venice as early as the middle ages, took possession of Europe generally during the manufacturing period. The colonial system with its maritime trade and commercial wars served as a forcing-house for it. Thus it first took root in Holland. National debts, i. e., the alienation of the state,—whether despotic, constitutional or republican—marked with its stamp the capitalistic era. The only part of the so-called national wealth that actually enters into the collective possessions of modern peoples is—their national debt. Hence, as a necessary consequence, the modern doctrine, that a nation becomes the richer the more deeply it is in debt. Public credit becomes the credo of capital, and with the rise of national debt-making, want of faith in the national debt takes the place of the blasphemy against the holy ghost, which may not be forgiven.

“The public debt becomes one of the most powerful levers of primitive accumulation. As with the stroke of an enchanter’s wand, it endows barren money with the power of breeding and thus turns it into capital, without the necessity of its exposing itself to the troubles and risks inseparable from its employment in industry, or even in usury. The state creditors actually give nothing away, for the sum lent is transformed into public bonds, easily negotiable, which go on functioning in their hands just as so much hard cash would. But further, apart from the class of lazy annuitants thus created, and from the improvised wealth of the financiers, middlemen between the government and the nation—as also apart from the tax-farmers, merchants, private manufacturers, to whom a good part of every national loan renders the service of a capital fallen from heaven—the national debt has given rise to joint stock companies, to dealings in negotiable effects of

the act of congress." This bank note money puts the control of the volume of money, and hence of its value, into the hands of a small class in a way which makes possible the turning of both the increase and decrease of the volume of money to their own benefit. They will be able to make money plentiful and prices high when they are lending money and accepting collaterals, but there will be nothing to prevent them from making it scarce and dear when they get ready to withdraw from circulation their own money and to keep both the money and the collaterals.⁷

Asset banking is simply a proposal to base the bank's circulation on whatever securities may be deemed satisfactory to the public authorities, after the

all kinds, and to agiotage, in a word to stock exchange gambling and the modern bankocracy.

"At their birth the great banks, decorated with national titles, were only associations of private speculators, who placed themselves by the side of the governments, and, thanks to the privileges they received, were in a position to advance money to the state. Hence the accumulation of the national debt has no more infallible measure than the successive rise in the stock of these banks, whose full development dates from the founding of the Bank of England in 1694. The Bank of England began with lending its money to the government at 8 per cent; at the same time it was empowered by Parliament to coin money out of the same capital, by lending it again to the public in the form of bank notes. It was allowed to use these notes for discounting bills, making advances on commodities, and for buying the precious metals. It was not long ere this credit Bank of England made its loans to the state, and paid, on account of the state, the interest on the public debt. It was not enough that the bank gave with one hand and took back more with the other; it remained, even whilst receiving the eternal creditor of the nation down to the last shilling advanced. Gradually it became inevitably the receptacle of the metallic hoard of the country, and the center of gravity of all commercial credit. What effect was produced on their contemporaries by the sudden uprising of this brood of bankocrats, financiers, rentiers, brokers, stock jobbers, etc., is proved by the writings of that time."—Marx: *Capital*, pp. 779-80.

7. "But a time came when the suction of the usurers so wasted the life of the community that the stream of bullion ceased to flow from the capital (Rome) to the frontiers; then as the sustaining force failed, the line of troops along the Danube and the Rhine was drawn out until it broke, and the barbarians poured in unchecked."—Adams: *Law of Civilization and Decay*, p. 46.

"By degrees as competition sharpened after the Reformation, a type was developed which, perhaps, may be called the merchant adventurer; men like Child and Boulton, bold, energetic, audacious. Gradually energy vented itself more and more freely through these

same manner as bank currency is now based on national bonds. It is in effect the adoption by the banks of the proposals of the Populists with the exception that the circulation is to be privately controlled rather than by the public, and is to be based on debts rather than on property, but as the debts are to be secured by

merchants, until they became the ruling power in England, their government lasting from 1688 to 1815. At length they fell through the very brilliancy of their genius. The wealth they amassed so rapidly accumulated until it prevailed over all other forms of force, and by so doing raised another variety of man to power. These last were the modern bankers.

"With the advent of the bankers, a profound change came over civilization, for contraction began. Self-interest had from the outset taught the producer that to prosper he should deal in wares which tended rather to rise than fall in value, relatively to coin. The opposite instinct possessed the usurer; he found that he grew rich when money appreciated, or when the borrower had to part with more property to pay his debt when it fell due than the cash lent him would have bought on the day the obligation was contracted. As toward the close of the eighteenth century, the great hoards of London passed into the possession of men of the latter type, the third and most redoubtable variety of economic intellect arose to prominence, a variety of which perhaps the most conspicuous example is the family of Rothschild. * * During the long [Napoleonic] wars Europe plunged into debt, contracting loans in depreciated paper, or in coin which was unprecedentedly cheap because of the abundance of the precious metals.

"In the year 1809, prices reached the greatest altitude they ever attained in modern, or even, perhaps, in all history. * * * From the year 1810, nature has favored the usurious mind even as she favored it in Rome, from the death of Augustus.

"Moreover, both in ancient and modern life, the first symptom of this profound economic and intellectual revolution was identical. Tacitus has described the panic which was the immediate forerunner of the rise of the precious metals in the first century; and in 1810 a similar panic occurred in London, when prices suddenly fell fifteen per cent. and when the most famous magnate of the stock exchange was ruined and killed. * * * From that day to this the slow contraction has continued, with only the break of little more than twenty years, when the gold of California and Australia came in an overwhelming flood; and from that day to this the same series of phenomena have succeeded one another, which eighteen hundred years ago marked the emasculation of Rome."—Adams: *Law of Civilization and Decay*, pp. 321-325.

"Not less formidable is the financial monopoly. A certain substance made into a certain form and bearing a certain stamp is made the representative of its own intrinsic value, in any form whatever. The existence of this circulating medium gives rise to special enterprises for the exchange of this only. As wealth increases more rapidly than money, and the exchange of products becomes too great to be carried on with the amount of the circulating medium, resort is had to paper money, in the nature of obligations to pay in the recognized medium. These obligations, in the course of time and the demands and vicissitudes of trade, assume a thousand forms, and become loaded with

property it is the same thing in effect. The proposal, if adopted, would simply extend the range within which the banks could control the fluctuations in prices by alternately increasing and diminishing the volume of money in existence and available for business.

443. The Multiple Standard.—In order to avoid the injury done by such fluctuations in the value of money it has been proposed to establish, instead of either the single standard or double standard, what is called the multiple standard. This proposal is that the average price of a large number of articles in the market shall be depended on to fix the volume of money, and that the government shall issue as much money, or have authority to retire at any time, as much money as may be necessary to maintain this standard of average prices. If the price of a single article varies there may be some reason relating to the methods of its production or to the nature of the season, or to the demand for its use, to account for the change, but if the average price of a large number of the articles most in use varies in a free market, this can be accounted for only by too much or too little money. In this way it has been thought that a sufficient basis could be found for the effective guidance of congress in their responsible control of the volume of money.⁸

infinite complexities, giving extent and importance to financial enterprise.

"It would be marvelous if those who became initiated into all the mysteries of financial manipulation did not learn with the rest how to absorb a large amount of these various representations of value. No field of speculation offers such temptations, and, while a lack of tact and cunning is sure to be attended with ruin, the successful are loaded with wealth. Such a field is never without its organized monopolists, who do nothing but watch their chances to sweep down upon the fruits of human toil and with a stroke of the pen brush into their money drawers the patient labor of years. Though a somewhat hazardous one, speculation in paper obligations is an extensive business, a successful mode of acquisition, and a dangerous monopoly."—Ward: *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. I., pp. 592-3.

8. "It appears to be a natural law that when social development has reached a certain stage, and capital has accumulated sufficiently,

It is evident that under such an arrangement the relation of the volume of money to average prices could be controlled, but it is equally evident that the average prices themselves could be seriously affected by the action of the trusts which control so large a number of the leading articles of the market.

444. Summary.—Part I.—No Solution Under Capitalism.—It is contended, then, that under capitalism there is no possible solution of the money question, and this for the following reasons:⁹

1. A national paper currency would be absolutely arbitrary in its relation to exchange and would depend on congress to fix its volume, and hence its value, without any possible means of otherwise maintaining a stability of average prices. An act of congress changing the volume of money, at any time, would change average prices. Every variation in average prices is an injury to someone.

2. The cost of producing gold and silver, either or both of them, varies from time to time and the volume of gold and silver as related to the volume of business is constantly changing, and each such change affects average prices. Every variation in average prices is an injury to someone.

3. The hoarding of gold changes the volume of money as related to the volume of business, to the benefit of the creditors, just as the coming of new gold from the gold fields tends to the debtors' relief. There is no way by which the volume of the new gold can be fixed. It depends on the fortune of the mines. There

the class which has had the capacity to absorb it shall try to enhance the value of their property by legislation."—Adams: *Law of Civilization and Decay*, p. 29.

9. "The pursuit of an ideal money which is unchangeable in its relations to other things is as idle as the search for the philosopher's stone, or the attempt to find a fixed point in the solar system."—Charles A. Conant, in *Journal of Political Economy*, June, 1903, p. 414.

is no way by which to prevent the hoarding of gold, both new and old. It depends at one time on the fears and at another time on the rascality of those who have it. Every change in the volume of money as related to the volume of business affects average prices. Every variation in average prices is an injury to someone. (

4. Bank currency, authorized by law, whether secured by national bonds or any other kind of assets, simply places the business of the country in the hands and at the mercy of a private corporation. The management of such a corporation would have to be more thoroughly disinterested than any like group of men the world has yet known or they would use their power to manipulate the volume of money expressly for the purpose of affecting average prices. Every change in average prices which would thus be brought about would be to the injury of the industrial world for the further profit of its money masters.

5. The multiple standard would be no solution of the money question. The theory is mathematically faultless. It depends for its effectiveness upon an average of prices created and continued, in a free market, by dealers engaged in an effective competition with each other. There is no such market, and unless human life is to be simply a horse race, managed solely to see which one can get ahead of all the rest, no such market is to be desired. Under the market as it is and as it is likely to remain, even with the multiple standard in force, if that were possible, the prices of trust-controlled articles could be continuously changed, arbitrarily and without reason. Every such change would affect the average of prices, and under the multiple standard the volume of money, and so again the prices of articles not in the trust would fluctuate by the action of the trust and the power of the trust not only to arbitrarily advance its own prices, but, through controlling

the money, disastrously to affect the prices of articles of trade not otherwise subject to trust control, and hence, would defeat the purposes of the multiple standard.

And, therefore, there is no solution of the money question under capitalism which does not leave the power of money in the hands of those who gamble with loaded dice and whose stakes involve the welfare of the world.

445. Summary.—Part II.—Socialism Will End the Controversy.—On the other hand it is contended that Socialism will abolish exchange for profits and will dispose of the use of money of intrinsic value and subject to private manipulation as an essential in exchange, and so make an end of the money question by providing a way by which each may exchange his own labor power for the products of all others, practically on a basis of exact and equal justice to all, and this for the following reasons:

1. Under capitalism one's ability to get things out of the market depends on his possession of money, which is always an uncertain and imperfect record of someone, somewhere, some time, having put something into some market. Under Socialism the record on which one will depend for his power to draw things from the public stores will be definite and certain. It has been seen that the real thing exchanged is labor power, and under Socialism the record of labor power expended will be direct, simple and certain. No one can predict what the details of the distribution of the future will be, but it does not matter whether labor certificates, pass books, or whatever the device may be by which the credits for labor will be made available for daily use. The money now in existence could be so used. But whatever is used the certificates or the dollars will come into circulation because of the performance of labor; they will go out of circulation by being

surrendered for goods to be used. They will make a record of production in one instance and of consumption in the other. Their volume will depend on the labor performed, and the extent of their claims will always be limited by the goods actually in store. These goods can be obtained only on account of labor performed, or because of childhood or old age or disability, so that the receiver of them will always be an immediate producer or a social charge, and not a social parasite.

2. As the total labor of all will be the sole claimant against all of the products of all of the workers, the only measure of value, that is of power in the market, will be labor itself. If things have any power to exchange themselves for other things, it would necessarily be at the cost in labor of producing the other things, for when the cost in labor could procure the other things by surrendering certificates of labor for them, none would exchange their goods at any other rate than the general average of the labor cost of producing them. The only power over the things in the market would be the labor which put them there. Then, as now, only the expenditure of human life can put things into the market. Then, but not as now, only those who put some share of their lives into filling the market could have any share in emptying it. Only those who gave something of life in the creation of goods could secure something of life in the form of goods.

3. Under Socialism there will be no need of loans for the purchase of productive plants. They will be owned in abundance by society for the free use of the whole body of its workers. There will be no need of loans for the purchase of goods for private stores. There will be no demand for private stores. There will be no occasion for personal loans. The able-bodied

will always have employment and the disabled will always be provided for. The whole credit system of capitalism will go at once on the coming of Socialism. As there will be no deferred payments, no standard for the settlement of deferred payments will be necessary.

4. The only thing which can in any way compare with our credit system will be found in the fact that the credits of the workers will accumulate from day to day, but while society stores the goods which will be produced by the labor which earns these credits it will not be a borrower of them, and when these workers come to the public stores to exchange these credits for the articles of their choice, it will not be to make a purchase, in the present sense of that term, but simply to withdraw from storage, values which are already theirs. To purchase is to give one thing of value in exchange for another thing of value. Under Socialism whatever forms of credit a worker may have will simply certify to his share of the goods in store. He will not go there to purchase what belongs to another. He will go to withdraw what is already his own.

5. So it is seen that under Socialism neither the votes of congress, nor the fortunes of mines, nor private hoarding, nor a trust-ruled market can, through the power of money, disastrously affect the process by which the products of all, which embody something of the expended life of all, shall always be within the reach of all. Banks, banking, loans, discounts, bonds, contracts, the breach of contracts, brokers, promoters, mortgages, foreclosures, evictions, embezzlements, bankruptcies, bulls, bears and corners will all go to the economic junk heap along with horse cars, stage coaches, flint-lock muskets and the rest of the outgrown equipment of a growing world.¹⁰

10. "The civilized governments of the present day are resting under a burden of indebtedness computed at \$27,000,000,000. This sum, which

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. According to the economists, what are the functions of **money**?
2. What was the origin of money? Name some of the things which have been used as money.
3. What qualities ought any article to possess if it is to be used as money? Why did silver and gold finally come to be the money metals?
4. What is meant by a medium of exchange? Why is such a medium necessary?
5. What is meant by a measure of value? How can money be used to measure the value of any given article?
6. What is meant by value—use value and price as used by the economists?
7. What is the one thing which all things have in common as related to the power which they have to exchange for each other in the market?
8. How can the value of money be determined?
9. What is meant by a standard for the settlement of deferred payments?
10. Explain why a change in the value of money must injure either the creditor or the debtor. Why are the debtors and creditors always on opposite sides in all disputes which involve the value of money?
11. Give the general law of supply and demand as related to money. What about the proposal for paper money? What are the possibilities of its abuse? Could congress use its power to control the volume of money, made on paper, to the injury of the debtors?
12. Explain the multiple standard.
13. Prove that there is no solution for the money question under the wage system, mentioning paper money, gold, bank notes and the multiple standard.
14. Prove that Socialism would dispose of the money question, mentioning the medium of exchange, the measure of value and the standard for the settlement of deferred payments under Socialism.

does not include local obligations of any sort, constitutes a mortgage of \$722 upon each square mile of territory over which the burdened governments extend their jurisdiction, and shows a per capita indebtedness of \$23 upon their subjects. The total amount of national obligations is equal to seven times the aggregate annual revenue of the indebted states. At the liberal estimate of \$1.50 per day, the payment of accruing interest, computed at 5 per cent, would demand the continuous labor of three millions of men. Should the people of the United States contract to pay the principal of the world's debt, their engagement would call for the appropriation of a sum equal to the total gross product of their industry for three years; or, if annual profits alone were devoted to this purpose, they would be enslaved by their contract for the greater part of a generation.

"But it is not alone the magnitude of this constant drain upon the product of current industry that invites our attention to a study of public debts; their recent appearance suggests many questions of equal importance. Previous to the present century, England and Holland were the only countries that had learned by experience the weight of national obligations; but at the present time the phenomenon of public debts is almost universal, and there are many peoples that rival England in the taxes paid for their support."—Adams: Public Debts, pp. 3-4.

CHAPTER XXVII

THEORIES OF POPULATION

446. The Law of Increase.—The whole number of the children all the time exceeds the whole number of the parents, and so in each generation the population continues to multiply.¹ Plants and animals of all kinds are sprouted or are begotten in such numbers that if all which make a beginning in life were to continue to live and to bring forth after their kind, it would very soon occur that the world could not contain them. The reason why this does not happen is because the animals are not permitted by each other or by exposure or accident to so come to maturity and bring forth each “after its own kind.” But if any particular animal should be given the exclusive occupancy of the whole earth, though it were the slowest breeder known, it alone in the course of time would so cover the earth’s surface that there would be the same struggle for the chance for some portion of them to live by the destruction of the rest.²

447. The Struggle to Exist.—All animals, including man, so say the capitalists, struggle for existence, and

1. Darwin: *Descent of Man*, p. 62.

2. Darwin: *Descent of Man*, p. 62.

must do so whether they like it or not, and they further say that to refuse to struggle for the survival of a part is, as a final result, to encounter starvation as the end of all. Thus the capitalists make man's struggle for existence not only, nor mainly, a struggle with hunger and exposure and the other conditions and forces of nature, but also, and mainly, and necessarily, a struggle between man and man for an opportunity to get a chance to struggle with the forces of nature.

Moreover, it is explained that war, pestilence, famine, hunger, disease, poverty, the distress of the children of the poor, the countless burials of infancy, are only in the line of the common lot of all life, and that while it does make hard the lot of the many, it is the only means of exterminating such a portion of the race that the remainder may survive.³

448. Limited Powers of Production.—On the other hand, on any given tract of land, a given amount of labor being expended with the result of a given product, it may be said that if the amount of labor increased the amount of the product would also increase. It is evident, however, that the natural limit to the productive powers of the soil would establish a point beyond which the further employment of labor would not so increase the product as to reward the larger amount of labor at the same or a higher rate than was secured by the smaller amount of labor.

449. "Increasing" and "Diminishing Returns."—If a given tract of land with one hundred days of labor should produce one thousand bushels of any given grain, it might be that with a hundred and fifty days of labor it would produce two thousand bushels. In this case the one hundred days were rewarded with ten bushels for each day of labor. But the one hundred and fifty days were rewarded with thirteen and a third

3. Walker: Political Economy, pp. 308-309.

bushels for each day of labor. Now if the labor were increased to two hundred days and the product were increased to only two thousand one hundred bushels, then the rate of reward for each day of labor would fall to ten and a half bushels; that is, the total harvest would be increased, but the rate of reward for each day's labor would be diminished.

“Land may be undercultivated and then extra capital and labor will give an ‘increasing return’ until a maximum rate has been reached, after which it will diminish again.”⁴

That is, it is seen that here are two important economic laws: First, the law of “increasing” returns according to which, up to a certain point, the rate of reward of labor upon any given tract of land increases when additional applications of labor are made; second, the law of “diminishing returns,” in accordance with which, beyond a certain point, the rate of reward from a given tract of land decreases when additional labor is applied.

It is evident that with additional land, as well as labor, the reward for the additional labor is not only as great as in the smaller undertakings but that the same increased advantages result from large combinations of machinery, organization, and scientific methods of production in agriculture as in every other field of endeavor.

This position has been recently disputed as applied to agriculture. That is, it is claimed that the benefits of organization as applied to larger enterprises cannot hold in the case of agriculture. But the most recent development in connection with the great farms about which this controversy has been carried on is that in the great wheat fields of the Sacramento Valley farm-

4. Marshall: Principles of Economics, p. 227.

ers are combining their thousand-acre farms into larger tracts for cultivation, maintaining private ownership to the various sections of these larger tracts, but combining in order that they may have the advantage of the great machinery as applied to agriculture, which machinery has been greatly enlarged in the last half dozen years. So that in agriculture, as in other lines of production, machinery, organization and scientific methods of production with increased land and increased labor, and under a single management, involves "increasing" and not "diminishing returns."

In manufactures there is no such thing as a diminishing reward for additional days of labor, but the reverse is true. The larger the enterprise, the larger the product for each day of labor so employed. If it were making cloth instead of raising grain, and a given application of labor had produced one thousand yards, ten times the labor would not only produce ten times as many yards, but more than ten times as many yards. The law is one of "increasing" rather than "diminishing returns."

Of course this would not hold if production were attempted in excess of the supply of raw material, for in manufactures as well as in agriculture the ultimate dependence is on the earth itself. In both agriculture and manufactures, the law is one of "increasing returns" for each additional day of labor so far as affected by the organization and equipment of labor. In neither agriculture nor manufactures can a single small tract of land be depended on to provide the natural resources for the sustenance of all the earth. But in agriculture the fact that additional labor cannot be employed to the same advantage on the same acres of land is of no consequence so long as there are additional acres. And in manufactures, the fact that when the raw materials of the earth have been exhausted for

any given year, that the manufacture would thereafter be impossible, and the fact that as the consumption of raw materials approaches the limit of supply, production would decrease in the volume of products as compared to the amount of labor, are of no consequence, so long as raw materials are abundant.

450. When the Last Acre Is in Use.—For the last hundred years there has been an enormous increase in the population of the earth, but the increase in production has been many times faster than the increase of population. But the increase of production has involved an increase of the number of acres of land in use. That cannot go on forever. The limit of the new available soil is even now in sight. There are new continents to bring into complete use, but there are no more new continents to discover. Will the population some day bring into use the last available acre of land and then the population continue to multiply, and so exceed the power of the earth each year to provide food and the raw materials for the support of the people?

451. In the Year of 2400.—On this point Professor Alfred Marshall says:⁵ “Taking the present population of the world at one and a half thousand millions; and assuming that its present rate of increase (about 8 per thousand annually; see Ravenstein’s paper before the British Association in 1890) will continue, we find that in less than two hundred years it will amount to six thousand millions; or at the rate of about 200 to the square mile of fairly fertile land (Ravenstein reckons 28 million square miles of fairly fertile land, and 14 millions of poor grass lands. The first estimate is thought by many to be too high; but allowing for this, if the less fertile land be reckoned in for what it is

⁵ Marshall: *Principles of Economics*, p. 257.

worth, the result will be about thirty million square miles as assumed above). Meanwhile there will probably be great improvements in the arts of agriculture; and, if so, the pressure of population on the means of subsistence may not be much felt even in two hundred years. But if the same rate of increase be continued till the year 2400, the population will then be 1,000 for every mile of fairly fertile land, and, so far as we can see now, the diet of such a population must needs be in the main vegetarian."

452. The Gloomiest Page in Economics.—Here is the gloomiest page in political economy, for the capitalistic economists assure us that this very thing is to happen in the natural order of things, and on this assurance have been based the most brutal proposals ever offered to mankind.⁶

Here is the question which we are considering: Is such a crisis likely to occur? If so, would capitalism or Socialism be better able to longest postpone its coming and be better able to deal with such a situation when it could no longer be averted?

453. An Old Problem.—It is admitted, then, that there is a natural and necessary limit to the productive powers of the soil, and that there is no such natural and necessary limit to the capacity for increasing the numbers of the people. This is an old problem debated by Plato and Aristotle. Laws for limiting or increasing the population have been frequently enacted by both ancient and modern nations. Wars have been followed with the offering of premiums for large families, and restrictions as to marriage have been suggested, if not enforced, when overpopulation has been threatened. In the lower stages of society "the ruthless slaughter of the infirm and aged, and sometimes of a

6. Walker: *Political Economy*, Book III., Chapters I. and II.

certain proportion of the female children, has been resorted to in order to limit the population.”⁷

454. Absurd Proposals to Limit Population.—Those who have believed the final over-population of the world to be probable have made the following suggestions regarding the best way to keep the population within the limit of subsistence:

(1) It has been suggested by them to forbid the marriage of the poor.⁸

(2) John Stuart Mill proposed to so train the poor in the necessity of making the population scarce, in order to make wages high, as to induce such an interest in self-control on the part of the married poor as to limit the size of the poor man’s family.⁹

(3) Annie Besant some years ago inaugurated a campaign in England for the purpose of so enlightening women regarding the physical operation of the child-bearing functions as to enable the mothers to prevent the conception of undesired children. Her campaign was denounced as wicked and indecent, and persons were imprisoned in this country for circulating books on this subject. But the capitalist saviors of society were placed in the awkward position of contending in one breath that so many were born that some must starve, and in the next punishing as an offense the only serious and outright effort to prevent the coming of more than could be provided for, as if to prevent the coming was a crime, while to insist on their coming into conditions where all must suffer and many starve was a civic virtue.

455. A Knowledge of Natural Causes.—Those who

7. Marshall: Principles of Economics, Book IV., Chapter IV., p. 251.

8. “The real labor problem is to be found * * * * * in the discovery of the means by which the lowest classes can be restrained in numbers.”—Laughlin, Head Professor of Economics, University of Chicago: Political Economy, p. 347.

9. Mill: Political Economy, p. 347.

have denied the probability of the coming of such a crisis in the world's life as would result in the population having outgrown the possible means of subsistence have done so on the following grounds:

(1) They have pointed out the undisputed fact that while the new-born among animals are largely in excess of the number which come to maturity, it is also true that this excess of births as related to the number which mature constantly decreases as the grade of life advances towards man.¹⁰

(2) Among all animals, including men, as the grade of any individual animal approaches perfection of its kind, the tendency to reproduce correspondingly decreases.¹¹

(3) Whenever an animal is most poorly fed or most injuriously exposed, that is, as anxiety for its own existence increases, the action of the reproductive forces is correspondingly quickened.¹²

(4) A very large percentage of the children born are a result of the ignorance of the parents regarding their own reproductive functions, and ignorance regarding so important a matter cannot always be counted on to overcrowd the world with children not desired by the very people who are responsible for their coming.¹³

456. Over-Population Unnecessary.—And, therefore, it is contended that (1) if the people were enlightened so that the undesired child need not come; (2) if they were more fully developed both physically and mentally, so that the tendency toward a slower reproduction on the part of a more perfectly developed man might be realized for all and (3) if poverty, distress, exposure, and the fear of these were taken out of the

10. Ferri: *Socialism and Modern Science*, pp. 35-37.

11. Ferri: *Socialism and Modern Science*, pp. 35-37.

12. Walker: *Political Economy*, p. 310.

13. Walker: *Political Economy*, p. 317.

problem of life, so that conceptions resulting from the lack of the proper physical condition of comfort for the mothers might cease, then it is claimed there would be no ground to fear that population would ever exceed the limit of subsistence.

457. Safe Conditions Impossible Under Capitalism.

—Let it be admitted for the sake of argument that society is sure to reach at some time in the future a condition under which the population will approach the uttermost limit of subsistence. If so, capitalism will be entirely incapable of solving the problem of the means of support, and this is held for the following reasons:

458. Forbidding the Poor to Marry.—(1) To forbid the marriage of the poor will not avail. The sex relation is one so natural and so vital to the character and welfare of man that laws forbidding wedlock have never been, never ought to be, and never can be made effective in preventing the union of those forbidden to marry.

Christian missionaries in countries of different religions and their converts who are forbidden to marry, except under conditions to which they are unwilling to assent, cohabit together and maintain all the relations of the family life without marriage, according to the laws of those countries. The marriages are celebrated in keeping with the usages of the countries from which the missionaries have come, but regardless of the laws of the countries where they reside. It would be absurd to expect poor people under similar conditions to act in any other manner. If the poor should cohabit in spite of such a law they would be worthily following the example of worthy people who are right in contending that no law can be binding which forbids a relationship so natural to man and so necessary to the fulfillment of the purpose and meaning

of his existence. It might be further said that the future character of the race would be better served by cutting off from the bearing of offspring those most subject to the diseases and vices of the rich, rather than the sturdy, though helpless poor.¹⁴

459. Genius and the Poor.—(2) The successful enforcement of a law forbidding the marriage of the poor in the past would have robbed the world of a great majority of its most useful people. Moses in religion, Michael Angelo in art, Edison in science, Shakespeare in literature, Hamilton, Webster and Lincoln in American politics, are only examples of the limitless list of strong men who have been given to the world by the families of the poor. A solution of the problem of population which would rob the world of so large a proportion of its genius would only add to the misfortune of the situation rather than solve the problem.

460. Giving the World to the Backward Races.—(3) The enlightenment of self-control proposed by Mr. Mill must be made universal in order to be made effective. If not made universal the result would be to limit the number of the most advanced peoples and to give the earth to the most ignorant and backward races. But such an enlightenment and such self-control can

14. "Another group of persons who have no calling is formed at the upper fringe of society. I mean the professional idlers who live on their interest and absolve themselves of the duty of having a calling. Looked at from the outside, their manner of life differs from that of the other class; seen from within, however, it shows many points of resemblance. Besides, these two classes come into personal contact with each other; they meet in the *demi monde* and among the gambling fraternity. Both congregate in large cities, both have perfectly perverse notions of honor, both, above all, are restless in disposition and unsettled in their movements. Just as a ship without a cargo is aimlessly tossed about by the wind and the waves, so the life of the rich idler is the plaything of every whim or mood that happens to strike him." * * * *
—Paulson: *A System of Ethics*, pp. 530-31.

"The more a man leads an intellectual life, the less powerful does the animal nature become in him. The majority of great men have left no posterity.

"The progress of enlightenment and comfort is therefore the best antidote against a too great increase of population, and by a kind of

never be secured for any large number of working people anywhere with the mass of men doomed to the exhausting toil and the wasting poverty which is inevitable under capitalism.

461. Capitalism Unable to Use the Earth.—(4)

Under capitalism the earth's resources can never be cultivated to the utmost limit and the products made available for the support of all the living. No worker can buy in excess of the purchasing power of his wages. No employer can pay wages unless he can sell the products of labor for more than he pays in wages. Only that share of the product of the labor of the people which can be bought with the wages paid them can be made available for their support, and this must always be less than the whole product under capitalism. Hence, it is clear that the whole power of the earth's ability to support the people can never be made available under capitalism.

But this is not all. Capitalism does not wait to reach the limit of the world's resources before it cuts off the poor man's support. Because the produce of labor is always in excess of the purchasing power of the wages of labor, the market, mainly supported by the wages

social harmony the advance of civilization dispels the principal danger that threatens its future."—Laveleye: *Socialism of To-day*, p. 13.

"Nature left to herself tends to weed out the weak, but man has interfered. And there are yet other causes for anxiety. For there is some partial arrest of that selective influence of struggle and competition which in the earlier stages of civilization caused those who were strongest and most vigorous to leave the largest progeny behind them; and to which, more than any other single cause, the progress of the human race is due. In the later stages of civilization the rule has indeed long been that the upper class marry late, and in consequence have fewer children than the working classes; but this has been compensated for by the fact that among the working classes themselves the old rule has held; and the vigor of the nation that is tending to be stamped out among the upper classes is thus replenished by the fresh stream of strength that is constantly welling up from below. But in France for a long time, and recently in America and England, some of the abler and more intelligent of the working class population have shown signs of a disinclination to have large families; and this is a source of danger."—Marshall: *Principles of Economics*, p. 280.

of labor, must fail to take the total product under such a system. The articles which support life are the great staples of production. The workers can only buy what their wages will pay for. They could use the remainder, but they cannot buy it. The capitalists could buy the remainder. In fact they already have it, but they cannot use so much of the staple articles. If they can not continue to sell the products of labor they cannot continue to employ labor to produce, and so even now, with almost whole continents of untaken land, capitalism cuts off the worker from the means of producing the means of life by a failure or a lock-out whenever the market fails, as surely as if the limit of the world's resources were already reached. If capitalism cannot provide for the support of all now, it is certain that it cannot do so when all the earth is everywhere occupied by productive workers, and no one but the workers to provide a market.

462. Unable to Develop Its Resources.—(5) The preservation of the forests, the irrigation and development of fertile but arid soils, the construction of great canals, the building of dykes and levees and the saving of the waste from the great cities which the sewers turn into the seas, which constantly exhausts the natural productive powers of the soil, and all enterprises which require great outlay and long spaces of time for their full completion,—these things, capitalism, depending for its motive for action on profit, cannot and does not undertake. But the full use of the world's productive powers requires this saving of what capitalism cannot save, and the development of that which capitalism cannot develop.

463. Pestilence and Famine No Relief.—(6) War, pestilence, disease and exposure, on which the capitalist depends to limit the population, cannot do it under capitalism, for while capitalism can cause all these in abundance, they are always followed by a more rapid birth rate than preceded their coming. Sparsely set-

tled countries have larger families than those which are overcrowded. Such loss of life only reacts with the return of increased numbers. Its only effect is to break the incoming tide into an ebb and flow of many waves. But it does not stay the tide itself. Famine never relieved the stress of population in Ireland. There were never so many children born there as during and following her greatest famine.

464. Socialism and the Causes of Over-Population.

—On the other hand Socialism will meet in the best possible manner every possible phase of the problem of an increasing population with an approaching limit of the means of support.

465. Maternal Distress.—(1) Under Socialism all will be secure in the opportunity to obtain a comfortable living, and the unnatural increase of the population resulting from maternal distress, caused by poverty, will cease.

466. Overwork and Mental Neglect.—(2) Under Socialism the shortened day of labor will give time for the physical and mental development and mental activity of all the people, and so the unnatural increase of the poorly developed because of overwork and mental neglect will cease.

467. Self-Control.—(3) Under Socialism the leisure and the opportunity for all to study will make more nearly possible the general intelligence and special knowledge and self-control which will greatly decrease the number of undesired births.

468. Can Use the Earth.—(4) Under International Socialism the resources of the whole earth can be developed to the fullest possible capacity, with the best possible equipment and under scientific methods, and all the product will be available for the support of all the people, because all will be producers and all will draw from the common stores the total product of their

toil. Neither a failure, nor a strike, nor a lockout will be possible under Socialism.

469.—Make the Desert Blossom.—(5) Under International Socialism the paternal instinct of the race will make a garden of the whole world, and neither the cost of labor nor the lapse of time required will interfere to prevent making the desert to blossom and many of the great waste places to be forever fresh and green with their unfailing wealth. There will be no limit to improvement placed by the impossible sale of an ever-recurring surplus which the laborer can produce, but which his wages cannot buy.

470. The Unwelcome Child.—(6) But should the improbable occur and the increase of the population under normal conditions finally outrun the boundless possibilities of co-operative production, then society could deal with the question of limiting the population under no form of social or economic organization so well as under Socialism, where equality of opportunity, with democratic authority, and these only, could enforce the necessary limitations by intelligent, just, scientific and merciful measures for preventing over-population, rather than as capitalism proposes, insist on the undesired birth, only to starve and kill the unwelcomed child.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. What is the doctrine of diminishing returns?
2. What is the theory of the economists regarding the increase of population?
3. Give grounds for holding that population will some time exceed the earth's ability to supply the means of support.
4. Give grounds for holding that this does not need to occur.
5. What measures have been offered under capitalism as a means of preventing over-production? (a) As to marriage? (b) The suggestion of Mill? (c) The crusade of Annie Besant?
6. Under what conditions is it believed by those who deny the necessity of over-population, can over-population be prevented?
7. Why cannot capitalism deal with this problem? (a) Show how the forbidden marriage, the suggestion of Mill, or war, pestilence and famine cannot be relied on to limit the population. (b) Show that capitalism cannot use to the full limit the earth's resources for the support of the people.
8. Why will Socialism be able to solve this problem? (a) As related to comfort? (b) As related to the more perfect life of the people? (c) As related to the full use of the earth's resources, and (d) as related to the direct action of limiting the population?

CHAPTER XXVIII

RENT, INTEREST AND PROFIT

471. The Joint Producers?—According to the capitalists, wealth is produced by the joint efforts of the landlord, the capitalist, the managing producer, and the laborer.

472. The Landlord.—The landlord contributes his share in the production by furnishing the land or standing room for the producer, and has his share of the products in rent.

473. The Capitalist.—The capitalist contributes his share in the production by furnishing the buildings, the raw materials, machinery, and the advance wages,—that is, wages while the first batch of products is being turned out and the management is waiting for returns. He may furnish these directly, or he may furnish the money or credit with which to obtain them, and he has his share of the products in payments of interest.

474. The Manager.—The managing producer, in order to contribute his share in production, must originate the enterprise, must control it, must find a paying market for the products, must carry all the risks

of the enterprise, and he has his share of the products in profit.

475. The Laborer.—The laborer contributes his share under the direction of the managing producer, with the materials and machinery of the capitalist, and on the standing-room of the landlord, by actually creating the wealth with his own toil, and he has his share of the products in wages.

476. The Division of Products.—The wages of the laborer, the interest of the capitalist and the rent of the landlord are fixed in amount and are guaranteed by the managing producer, but the amount of his share is not fixed and must depend on all the contingencies of business, as well as on his own ability. His share of the products is all that is left after all the others are rewarded.

This statement of the parties to production and of the shares falling to each is not disputed. It is simply a statement of what is of daily occurrence under the wage system. That these are necessary parties to production or that the shares ought to be so fixed, holds only on the assumption that the wage system is a just or necessary method of production. It will be shown further on that it is neither just nor necessary, but it will nevertheless be of interest and of advantage to be familiar with the exposition and defense made by the economists, of rent, interest and profit, for these are the several forms in which the products of labor, over and above the share paid in wages, are taken from the laborers.

477. What Is Rent?—Let us consider, then, the grounds on which the capitalist maintains that the workers should share their products with others, because the others have the legal title to the earth.

They teach that the rent of any given tract of land in any particular region is the difference between the

productivity of that particular piece of land and the productivity of the least desirable like tract of land in actual use in that same region.

They argue that the labor employed on lands which are so poor that they can pay no rent, just pays for the capital, labor and management, or it would not be used. If, then, an amount equal to the value of the products of the poor land be deducted from the returns from the most desirable locations, the remainder of the product, being a surplus over and above the pay for capital, labor and management, would be the rent.¹

478.—The Single Tax.—It is the contention of the advocates of the single tax that this sum belongs to society and ought to be collected from the legal owners of the land in the form of a tax and so be devoted to the public use. It is difficult to over-estimate the value of this agitation of the late Henry George and his followers in calling the general public attention to this fact, namely, that there is no pretense whatever that the sums paid in rent for land values, exclusive of improvements, represent any service whatever from the landlords to society, but are simply the appropriation by the landlords of values which have been created by the whole body of the community—for it is the community which most of all determines which location is the most and which the least desirable. The single taxers as well as the Socialists have compelled the economists to face this feature of the wage system.

479. Fixed Improvements.—The economists who have spoken for capitalism have attempted to defend rent by the claim that the improvements really create the value of the land and that the land ought to belong to those who create its value.²

The answer has been made that vacant and unim-

1. Ely: *Political Economy*, p. 215; and Walker: *Political Economy*, p. 203.

2. Ely: *Political Economy*, p. 216.

proved land in the midst of a growing community grows in value with the rest; that the people whose improvements create this value are the whole community; that the improvements on any particular piece of land are only a small share of the improvements which make its value, and that therefore the argument for the private ownership of land, and hence the private appropriation of rent on account of improvements, is in fact an argument for public ownership of land and hence the public appropriation of the rents. It is these publicly created values which are called "unearned increments," meaning that they are unearned by the private owner who gets them. They are not unearned by the public which creates them, but does not get them.

480. Land Titles and Other Property.—Again, it is contended that the titles to the land are as good and as just as the claims to patents, copyrights or corporation stocks, the values of every one of which are as dependent on society for their existence as are the land values.³

As to patents, it is contended that it was society which did all the preliminary work which finally made the invention possible; it is society which grants and protects the patent, and it is society which furnishes the market without which the invention would be valueless. Of copyrights, it is also said that society created the language used, lives the life which is portrayed, amused or instructed, and again provides the market without which the copyright would be valueless.

The same thing can be said of corporation stocks of every possible variety. The corporations themselves, as well as the machinery they use, are purely social products. Their tools, their methods and their markets are all the creations of society. The "unearned

3. Contention of Roswell G. Horr in Debate with Henry George.

increment" of land is no more a social product and unearned by those who hold the land than are the shops, store houses and railways social products and unearned by those who hold them.

481. Socialists and Single Taxers.—Here the Socialists and single taxers part company. The single taxpayer looks for a ground of difference between socially created values in land and socially created values in machinery, but the Socialist, instead of abandoning or limiting the application of the principle that society ought to own what society creates, because it would logically lead to the collective ownership of the tools of production, admits and insists that this is true and asks that society shall proceed to take for its own use all of the means of production, so far as they are collectively used, for all are either the free gift of nature or the joint creation of society.

482. Unearned Benefits.—It is doubted whether any of the representative economists really regard as of much force either of the foregoing arguments in defense of rent. John Stuart Mill admitted that rent belongs to society and organized an association called "The Land Tenure Reform Association," to agitate for public ownership of land values. Francis A. Walker says: "The unqualified ownership of land * * * enables the land-owning class to reap a wholly unearned benefit at the expense of the general community."⁴

483. Who Pays the Rent?—So it is admitted that

4. Walker: Political Economy, p. 395.

"If a man shall acquire property worth \$10,000, and shall rent it so as to receive a net income of 8 per cent per annum, payable semi-annually, and shall each half year invest the income in property which will yield him the same rate of income, at the end of fifty years his property will be worth \$500,000, instead of the \$10,000 which he originally had—all without his doing a stroke of work! And this does not take into consideration any increase in the value of the property. The \$490,000 has been earned by his tenants and paid him as rent. In a hundred years the amount would be almost incalculable. And in this manner have

the landlord is getting what does not belong to him, and then it is argued by most economists that this is no concern of the public because the rent does not add to the market price of the products. They contend that no one with a good farm would sell his products cheaper because he grew them more cheaply than his neighbor on a poor farm. The market would be obliged to buy the potatoes from the poor land or there would not be potatoes enough to go round. The expensively produced potatoes would fix the market price for all potatoes, including those grown more cheaply, because on better land. Now, they say it can make no difference to the general public whether the difference between the cost of producing potatoes on good land or poor land goes to the landlord or to his tenant as returns for his labor in excess of those realized by his neighbor, for neither the landlord nor the tenant would give the difference to the public.⁵

484. No Escape.—To all this there is no answer, if the economist is permitted to stay under cover of capitalism. But the whole argument would become absurd if the workers should organize to raise their own potatoes, producing with the least labor possible all the potatoes that everybody would be likely to need. But it is just here where the wrong of the wage system is again made evident, in that it does provide, just as

all great fortunes been accumulated. They are never earned. They could not be. No man could ever grow rich by the ordinary product of labor.

“And there must be some reason for the growth of large fortunes which is not grounded in justice; for if they be not earned they are not justly held. They are, it is true, generally begun in industry and frugality; but they grow from other causes. It is a singular fact that not one dollar of the present fortunes of Vanderbilt, of Gould, or of the Astors, has been earned by the possessors. The original which was earned has been long since spent, and those fabulous fortunes to-day are entirely composed of moneys received either as rent, interest or dividends.”—**Dement: Workers and Ideals**, pp. 29-30.

5. Ely: *Political Economy*, pp. 215-216; Walker: *Political Economy*, pp. 211-214.

these men claim, a way by which the landlord can collect from the general public "unearned benefits" for himself, and while we are under capitalism there is no escape.

485. The Appeal to Conscience.—But the final appeal of the capitalist is to the public conscience. These teachers who tell us that economics has nothing to do with ethics, who tell us that "love of country, love of honor, love of friends, love of learning, love of art, pity, honor, shame, religion, charity, will never * * * withstand in the slightest degree or for the shortest time the effort of the economic man to amass wealth,"⁶ when they can find no defense, even in their own kind of economics, for this theft of the very earth itself, appeal to those from whom the earth has been stolen, to deal conscientiously with those found in possession of the stolen property. Professor Ely says regarding the return of the earth to those to whom it belongs,⁷ it "will never, in the opinion of the author, appeal to the conscience of the American public as a just thing."⁸ Francis A. Walker says: "As the surrender is now generations, even centuries old, and as the land has

6. Walker: *Political Economy*, p. 16

7. "Private property in or commercial ownership of the land can give no valid title against the inheritance nature bestows, and upon the recognition of which all principles of justifiable property or ownership depend. 'The earth belongs in usufruct to the living.' No title which gives the present holder 'the right to its future products forever' and so subverts this principle, can have any just force or application; because the very law of property depends upon the right to control that which our labor has effected. And since labor is absolutely powerless to create or effect the production of any property without access to the raw material, the earth and its substances and forces, any ownership of these which debars labor from their use destroys the right to produce property, and thus strikes at the fundamental principle upon which all true property in human society rests."—J. K. Ingalls: *Economic Equities*, pp. 7-8.

8. Ely: *Political Economy*, p. 297.

"As the rights of property cannot exist without correlative and commensurate duties, so the performance of those duties can not be neglected without bringing the rights into peril. We cannot insist upon the rights if we refuse to perform the duties."—Lilly: *First Principles of Politics*, p. 44.

changed owners * * * it would be simple robbery for the state to reassert its interests in the land, without fully indemnifying owners.”⁹ And then he argues at length that indemnification is “impracticable,” would lead to “corruption” and finally, in effect, that it would be better to give up our just claim to the earth to those who unjustly possess it.

486. “Indemnification” for “Unearned Benefits.”

—A single question will settle all this dust and clear the atmosphere for action. Who will indemnify the disinherited? Who will pay the general community for the landlord’s “unearned benefits at the expense of the general community?” This is not asked with regard to the wrongs of the past. Indemnification for the needless poverty and the starvation, suffering and death of the helpless women and children for a single year of the past would bankrupt the capitalism of the earth. But this question is asked for the future. No matter how many times titles have changed hands, nor how many innocent purchasers are involved, they will not be innocent if they continue to collect “unearned benefits at the expense of the general community.”¹⁰ It does not matter what payments were made in the past. If they were made with the products of the past, for services rendered in the past, then the account is settled, and neither side to the bargain can have any just claims against the future. If the pretended payments of the past were merely promises made in the past, but to be really paid with the products of the future, then they were no payments at all. And herein, again, is the wrong of all bargains as touching the pri-

9. Walker: *Political Economy*, p. 395.

10. “If the society is poorly or defectively organized, there is a free multiplication of the parasitic classes, and the collapse and total ruin of that society soon follows. On the other hand, if the resistance which it offers to exploitation be at all adequate, there will be a speedy elimination of the individuals and classes who become parasitic.”—Massart and Vandervelde: *Parasitism—Organic and Social*, pp. 121-22.

vate ownership of the earth; they all have regard to disposing of the products of the labor of the future and in such a way as shall put "unearned benefits" into the hands of the few and fix undeserved poverty as the lot of the many.¹¹ This is not robbery of the living only; it is the veriest rape and outrage of the unborn.¹²

487. Buying One's Own Birthright.—Who shall be indemnified? Shall the private owner of the earth be given the full value of the very blood of the toilers

11. "From man down the creatures live by preying on each other. Insidious parasites infest all kinds of plants and animals. Everything seems to have some mortal foe. The very ants go to war for all the world like men, and Venus' flytrap (*Dionaea*) is as cruel as a spider. So human society is riddled with mischiefs and wrongs, some, like Armenian massacres, due to surviving savagery, and some, like slums, to sickly civilization."—President Eliot: *American Contributions to Civilization*, pp. 269-70.

"A receiver of stolen goods sells me something that I stand greatly in need of, at a very low price. Strictly as between him and me, as trading persons, he doubtless renders me a service, the full equivalent of the money I pay to him; but as between society and him, and even between him and me as a member of society, there is an account still open that has to be adjusted.

"A highwayman points a pistol at my head, but offers to spare me if I shall give him \$500, which I proceed to do with the greatest alacrity. In sparing my life he renders me the highest possible service, one for which I would gladly, were it needful, pay many times \$500. Indeed, on no equal payment during my life do I so much felicitate myself. Still the question will arise, How came the highwayman to be in a position to do me such a vital service, and, after all, what right has he to my \$500?

"In like manner, while the owner of the land who at a certain rent leases me a few acres on which I may work to raise food for myself and family, undoubtedly does me a great service, as compared with not giving me leave to cultivate it upon any terms whatever, it will still be rational and pertinent for me to inquire, at least under my breath, what business he has with the land any more than I or any one else. Why should I not have the whole produce of my ten-acre lot without deduction, although I freely confess that I would rather submit to the deduction than not have it at all * * *"—Walker: *Land and Its Rent*, pp. 63-64.

12. "I have not the slightest doubt that the miserable condition of the poorer classes in our large towns is greatly due to the accumulation of land in a few hands in such towns, and to the possession of land by corporations."—Rogers: *Work and Wages*, p. 530.

"We plead for 'a strong, tense, elastic organization,' which puts the individual on his feet, and gives him the arena of his powers. Men are to bear in mind the constant tendency of power to usurpation. While the laws of industry are not to be set aside, fresh conditions are to be

which he is about to take, and who have nothing else to give, in order that he may be bought to loosen his grip on the toilers' throats, or must the toilers still continue to surrender their natural birthright to the earth and forever submit to an inheritance of dependence and want, not for themselves alone, but for the unborn after them?

When the "American public" once understands the jugglery of which it is the victim, its conscience as well as its economic necessities will make short work of these "unearned benefits at the expense of the general community."¹³

488. Services and Limitations of the Single Tax.—
If it be said that the single tax offers a way out, the

constantly provided for their fair and favorable operation. Society is to strive for a perpetual renewal of opportunities and a redistribution of advantages, so that every child shall come from the cradle to a fresh world with fresh incentives, not to one overworn and used up for him by the errors of the past generations. Industrial usurpations are no more sacred than those of civil power: tyranny may be in the possession of property just as certainly as in that of authority. Indeed, the tyranny of ownership may become the more subtle and extended of the two. In a matter of such universal interest as personal opportunity and discipline, the gist of every wise measure is found in a maintenance of motives, a renovated and freshly habilitated life. Society should look sharply to the laws of social hereditament, should see what we do inherit, and what we ought to inherit, and this with a supreme sense of the right of the race overshadowing that of personal or private rights."—Bascom: *Sociology*, p. 252.

"Yet the root of right is reason, the slow creeping reason of the aggregate mind. Customs which are congealed errors must yield to the clear, coherent push of reason proper. Every question must at length be brought into this light, and there be answered. * * * Custom may allow one by entail to follow and control his property for a thousand years, but reason will assert, and its assertion will at length be heeded, that the dead yield the earth to the living. Each man's life interest in it is a life interest, and all beyond that must have strict reference to the public weal."—Bascom: *Sociology*, p. 17.

13. "The problem has, however, to be forced. Either we must submit forever to hand over at least one-third of our annual product to those who do us the favor to own our country, without the obligation of rendering any service to the community, and to see this tribute augment with every advance in our industry and numbers, or else we must take steps, as considerably as may be possible, to put an end to this state of things. Nor does equity yield any such conclusive objection to the latter course. Even if the children of our proprietors have come into the world booted and spurred, it can scarcely be contended that whole generations

answer is that the single tax proposes, for a specified payment made to the public by those who are themselves a part of the public, to surrender the earth for their private use and profit, and that under the wage system. It would leave both interest and profit untouched. It would leave the worker without organization, without equipment and to the same inheritance of dependence on a private employer as before. The relation of mastery and servitude would still remain to debauch the one class and to oppress the other.¹⁴

If it be said that under the single tax any particular worker who should be dissatisfied with his wages could have his total product by going to work on his own account, which he could easily do with free access

of their descendants yet unborn have a vested interest to ride on the backs of whole generations of unborn workers. Few persons will believe that this globe must spin round the sun forever charged with this colossal mortgage implied by private ownership of the ground rents of great cities, merely because a few generations of mankind, over a small part of its area, could at first devise no better plan of appropriating its surface. * * * But against the permanent welfare of the community the unborn have no rights; and not even a living proprietor can possess a vested interest in the existing system of taxation. The democracy may be trusted to find, in dealing with the landlord, that the resources of civilization are not exhausted. * * * This growth in collective ownership it is, and not any vain sharing out of property, which is to achieve this practical equality of opportunity at which democracy aims."—Webb: *Problems of Modern Industry*, pp. 240-41.

14. "Finally, that the single tax would be an unjust burden on labor and could not, therefore, solve the labor problem is as easily demonstrated. It is only necessary to note that this tax is based on a fictitious, vanishing 'land value,' and not on the intrinsic, permanent, real, the producing value of the land. Hence, the proceeds of a single tax assessment, notably in the cities where it could alone be effectively applied, must come, not from the land in question itself, which in this case produces nothing, but from wealth otherwise produced or appropriated. But, as all wealth is ultimately the product of land and labor, freely admitted by the single taxers, it logically and inevitably follows that this assessed wealth or tax, this much lauded, 'non-shifting' single tax, is nothing more nor less, after all, than a plain tax on labor, precisely the same appropriated (robbed) labor as is all other appropriated wealth or capital.

"Stripped of its only meritorious, socialistic features and reduced to its logical absurdity, the single tax system is nothing more nor less than the sale, by a given community, of their most advantageous location for exploiting the people to the man who is willing to pay to these same deluded people the biggest price for his noble privilege of robbing

to the soil, the answer is that under the single tax a dissatisfied worker would have the alternative of taking such wages as a private employer would give him in a shop, thoroughly equipped and perfectly organized, or he could go to work on his own account and have all he could produce, working single-handed, without equipment, without organization, and on any untaken, and hence on the least desirable, locations. On the other hand, the Socialist contends that the workers are entitled to all that can be produced, with the best organization, best equipment and on all the land, including both the poorest and the best locations. And, further, the Socialist contends that those who do work shall not depend for an opportunity to do so on the consent of those who do not.

489. Thrift—Saving and Interest.—As to interest payments, the political economists have until recently contended that interest is the reward of thrift and saving,¹⁵ but this contention has become absurd in the face of the thriftless and extravagant lives of the greater share of those engaged in the coupon-clipping industry.

490. Risk.—The payment for risk has been offered as a sufficient justification.¹⁶ But payment for risk is insurance. The mortgages, endorsements and other collateral securities are intended to cover the risks. Absolutely good security may lower the rate. but it does not abolish interest.

491. Share of the Profits.—The latest defense of interest is that it is a guaranteed share of the profits.¹⁷

them,—a proposition savoring strongly of licensed brigandage and possible only under our present absurd and immoral social system.”—H. P. Moyer.

15. Walker: *Political Economy*, pp. 230-231.

16. Ely: *An introduction to Political Economy*, p. 217; Walker: *Political Economy*, p. 236.

17. This position was taken in the American Economic Association in its session at Chicago, in 1893, and was generally concurred in

The capitalist is a kind of partner in the business. If his share of the profits can be guaranteed so that he may neglect the business, may go South in the winter and to the sea in the summer, and can do his share in "thrift and saving" by spending what others create, then he consents to a low fixed rate of profits, called interest.¹⁸

So the real defense of interest is shifted to the defense of profit, and interest and profit must stand or fall together.

492. Profit and Superintendence.—In the same way profits were formerly defended as "wages of superintendence," but now the owner pays wages to a super-

by the leading American teachers of political economy, present and participating in the discussion.

18. "In ancient times the loaning of money set up an odious debt-slavery. The fields of wealthy Romans were in great measure tilled by gangs of adjudicated debtors, who were in a more evil plight than the convicts employed on Portland Harbor. * * * * * At Athens (600 B. C.) similar conditions prevailed."—Blissard: *The Ethics of Usury and Interest*, pp. 3-4; see Grote: *History of Greece*, Vol. III., p. 213, appendix.

"The precise meaning of profits, and its character as the reward of enterprise, will become clearer if we distinguish it from two things that are often combined and compared with it. Profit, in its strict sense, does not include wages of management; in the case of many businesses they can be easily distinguished. In a great railway company, the shareholders are the capitalists and get the profits, but they have very little to do with the management; that lies with the directors, who get their fees, as well as profits on the shares they hold, and with the manager and other officials, who get salaries, but may possibly hold no shares and therefore get no profits. In exactly the same way in any private concern the gross income, which the proprietor draws from it consists of two parts: the profit on the capital he has invested in it, and the wages he is entitled to for work in organization and administration. That is, as we have already seen, a very highly paid kind of work, and the gains of the capitalists, who manage their own enterprises, should be considered and including wages for their time, as well as profits on the capital they risk.

"This distinction is clear enough; there is more difficulty in discriminating between profit, as already described, and interest. Profit is reward of enterprise, but interest is the payment demanded by a capitalist who does not undertake any enterprise himself personally. He lets other people use his wealth, on the condition of giving him a regular return for it while they have the use of it. So far as possible he bargains himself out of the risks, and therefore he must be contented with a lower rate of return than those who undertake the risks of the enterprise."—Cunningham: *Modern Civilization in Some of Its Economic Aspects*, pp. 138-39.

intendent,¹⁹ while he goes along with the interest-taker, the one spending what is obtained through interest payments and the other what is obtained through dividends, but both expend what neither creates, but what the workers create in their absence.²⁰

Professor Ely says that profit "is the return which one receives for the organization and management of a business at one's risk."²¹ Is it contended that if risk could be taken out of the problem, profits would disappear? If not, then neither "wages of superintendence," nor "reward for risk" is a justification of profits.

493. The Skillfully Managed.—Mr. Walker argues that profits arise as the difference between the most skillfully and most wastefully managed plants, both of which are necessary to supply the market. The most wastefully managed fixes the market price and the most skillfully managed makes the difference between the market price and the cost of production in the skillfully managed shop.²²

But the trust is putting all the shops under a single management, and that the most skilled. When this is done and there remains no difference in cost between the most skillful and the most wasteful managements, will profits then disappear? If so, the Standard Oil Company should stop paying to its stockholders, each

19. Ely: *Political Economy*, p. 217.

20. "All the social functions of the capitalist are now performed by salaried employes. The capitalist has no further social function than that of pocketing dividends, tearing off coupons and gambling on the Stock Exchange, where the different capitalists despoil one another of their capital. At first the capitalistic mode of production forces out the workers. Now it forces out the capitalists, and reduces them, just as it reduced the workers, to the ranks of the surplus population, although not immediately into those of the industrial reserve army."—Engels: *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, p. 71.

21. Ely: *Introduction to Political Economy*, p. 217.

22. Walker: *Political Economy*, pp. 247-259.

twelve months, more than the total sum of the original investment in the business.

494. The Laborer's Right Undisputed.—The laborer is the only factor in production whose claim to some share of the product has never been defended by the economists. His claim is so evident that it needs no defense.

495. The Real Question.—Adam Smith is called "the father of political economy," and his first sentence in discussing the wages of labor is: "The produce of labor constitutes the natural recompense or wages of labor."²³ Then why does not the laborer get that produce, and get it all?²⁴

496. The Answer.—1. It is because the landlord possesses the earth, and will not permit its use, except the toiler buys what the landlord does not justly own, by payments of rent.

2. It is because the capitalist possesses the machinery, which has been created by society through the long centuries of its growth, and will not permit the

23. Adam Smith: *Wealth of Nations*, p. 49.

24. "If they [the working classes] create a small amount of wealth and get the whole of it, they may not revolutionize society; but if it were to appear that they produce an ample amount and get only a part of it, many of them would become revolutionists, and all of them would have a right to do so. The indictment that hangs over society is that of 'exploiting labor.' 'Workmen,' it is said, 'are regularly robbed of what they produce. This is done within the forms of law, and by the natural working of competition.' If this charge were proved, every right-minded man would be a Socialist and his zeal in transforming the industrial system would then measure and express his sense of justice. * * * The right of the present social system to exist at all depends upon its honesty. * * * A plan of living that should force men to leave in their employers' hands anything that by right of creation is theirs, would be institutional robbery—a legally established violation of the principle on which property is supposed to rest.

"This is the problem we have to solve. It is an issue of pure fact. If the law on which property [right] is supposed to rest—the rule, 'to each what he creates'—actually works at the point where the possession of property begins, in the payments that are made in the mill, etc., for values there created, it remains for practical men so to perfect the industrial system, after its kind—that exceptions to this prevalent rule may be less frequent and less considerable. We can deal otherwise with robberies that are not institutional; but it is evident that a

turning of a wheel except the toiler buys him off with payments of interest.²⁵

3. It is because industry is undertaken for private profits and the management will maintain a lockout until its profits are secure, regardless of the ruin which overwhelms the worker's family while he waits for

society in which property is made to rest on the claim of a producer to what he creates must, as a general rule, vindicate that right at the point where titles originate—that is, in payments that are made for labor. If it were to do otherwise, there would be at the foundation of the social structure an explosive element which sooner or later would destroy it. For nothing, if not to protect property, does the state exist. Hence a state which should force a workman to leave behind him, in the mill, property that was his by right of creation, would fail at a critical point. A study of distribution settles this question, as to whether the modern state is true to its principle.”—Clark: *The Distribution of Wealth*, Chapter I.

“The fact through which the ascendancy of the present continues to express itself in the economic process is everywhere the same. We have it in view under the phenomenon of the legalized enforcement, whether by individuals, or classes, or corporations, or sometimes even by whole peoples, of rights which do not correspond to an equivalent in social utility. This is the phenomenon which John Stuart Mill and the English utilitarians had in view in their early attack on the institution of unearned increments. This is the phenomenon which, in the last analysis, we see Henry George endeavoring to combat in his denouncement of the monopoly ownership of natural utilities. This is the phenomenon with which we see Marx struggling in his theory of surplus value, so far as it is true—the phenomenon, that is to say, of the acquirement by capital of values in the produce of labor which represent monopoly rights not earned by capital in terms of function. It is the phenomenon we have in view that class of fortunes accumulated in stock exchange values which have not been earned in terms of function. It is the fact underlying every form of private right accruing from increase, unearned in terms of social utility, in the profit ownership of the instruments and materials of production. It is the phenomenon we have in view in the now universal tendency in modern industry to monopoly ownership, or its equivalent in monopoly control; with the resulting accumulation of vast private fortunes through the enforced disadvantage of classes, of whole communities, and even of entire nations. It is the fact underlying every form of the exploitation of a less developed people, whether by special tariffs or otherwise by a ruling race for its own private advantage. And last of all, it is the phenomenon which meets us in its final colossal phase in the international world-process, under the tendency of aggregates of capital, in an uncontrolled and irresponsible scramble for profit governed in the last resort simply by the qualities contributing to success and survival in a free fight for private gain, to control the general exploitation of the natural resources of the world at the level of its lowest standards in human life and human labor. * * *”—Kidd: *Principles of Western Civilization*, p. 476 and following.

25. “Capital is the accumulated stock of human labor.”—Mill, Quoted by Adams in *Law of Civilization and Decay*, p. 313.

permission to create the very wealth for the lack of which his children die.

4. It is because the toilers must first provide this rent, interest and profit for those who render no necessary service in production before they are permitted to produce at all, either for themselves or for the helpless ones who depend upon them.²⁶

497. The Prison House of Toil.—This is the wage system. This is capitalism. This is the present prison-house of toil. The masters of industry and commerce have been able to compel the toilers to “divide up” with them, simply and only because in the evolution of human society it has reached this stage of advance. They can continue to do this only so long as they can have the authority of the citizenship of the toilers to support them in doing so. They can continue to do this only until society shall evolve out of capitalism into Socialism, and in this evolution the toilers themselves must become the builders of society.

498. The Way Out Is Socialism.—1. Under Socialism, society will own the land, and there will be no rent to pay.

2. Under Socialism, society will own the tools of production, and there will be no interest to pay.

3. Under Socialism, society, acting through those who are engaged in any industry and who will know most about it, and not through private stockholders both absent and ignorant, will manage production and there will be no profits to pay.

4. Under Socialism, whoever shares in the division of the products will share because he is, or is to be, or

26. “Between robbery and monopoly the difference appears very great, but it consists in two things, both of which are quantitative only. These are the rudeness and the illegality of the former as contrasted with the civility and the legality of the latter. The principle of a procedure is not changed by mollifying the method. The motive is the same.”—Ward: *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. I., p. 583.

has been a producer and no others, unless the victims of disabling misfortune, who will be abundantly cared for, but without the shame of pauperism.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. According to the capitalist, by whom is wealth produced?
2. What does each party do in production, and what is the share of each in the products?
3. How does the capitalist justify the collection of rent?
4. State and answer the argument for rent (1) as related to improvements. (2) As compared to the private ownership of patents, copyrights and corporation stocks.
5. State the grounds of agreement and the point of separation between the single taxer and the Socialist.
6. Quote Walker on the private ownership of land.
7. State and answer the argument that rent is not added to the market price of products and that therefore it is not paid by the general public.
8. State and answer the appeal of the economist to the public conscience on the land question.
9. Why is not the single tax a way of deliverance for the working man?
10. State and answer the defense of interest as made by the economist (1) on the ground of thrift and saving, (2) on the ground of risk, and (3) on the ground that it is a guaranteed part of profit.
11. State and answer the defense of profit (1) as wages of superintendence; (2) as reward for risk; and (3) as reward for special business ability as compared with a poorly managed business.
12. Does rent, interest or profit rest on any necessary share in production? If not, then why are they permitted?
- 13? Under Socialism how will the workers be made secure in the use of the whole product of their labor?

PART V

CURRENT PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC INTEREST AND SOCIALISM

CHAPTER XXIX

THE FINE ARTS AND SOCIALISM

499. What Is Art?—This is not a discussion of the fine arts, but a study of Socialism as related to the fine arts. There is nothing more hotly disputed than “What is Art?” and this will not be an attempt to answer that question. But there is nothing more certain than the natural hunger of a man for that which is beautiful. The things which can excite in his breast the emotions resulting from a vision of splendor, or of grandeur, or of truth and beauty, are things which he will prize, and he who can create the things which will produce these emotions will always have no small share in making this a world, not only of comfort, but of gladness.¹

1. “Art unites the spiritual and the physical in perfect being. It adds that supreme emotional perfection to life which we term beauty.
* * * Art plays an important part in sociology, not only in competing stages of progress, but often as indicating the true direction, when men are baffled by misapplied energy. In some sense beauty, perfection of form, is the culmination of science, philosophy and faith, as it is

500. The Industrial and the Fine Arts.—The industrial arts are devoted to the comfort of the world, the fine arts to its gladness.

It is a curious fact that the beginnings of the fine arts were made first, and of the industrial arts afterwards.² Songs are older than statutes. Poetry is older than prose. Carving ornaments is older than the building of houses. Patches of color were put on the faces first, and then on fabrics. The artist came first, and the artisan followed him. Human speech existed as music before it was spoken in words. "Articulately speaking men" were those who had broken the earlier musical tones into bits and pieces and had fixed a meaning to these bits of speech, which could not otherwise be given by the echoing voices of the primeval forests.³ While modern singing so slurs the words that the unpracticed ear cannot catch them, and so misses the meaning of the songs, the older music had no words at all, and human beings called to each other across sex lines, and charmed each other, not by the meaning of the words in the songs they sung, but by the deeper meaning of their wordless songs.

501. "Songs Without Words."—Songs without words had been sung for a thousand centuries before Mendelssohn tried to catch them on the written scale and to repeat them on instruments of music. When words became an important part in speech the rhythm of the older songs still clung to the forms of speech, and all the earliest literature of the race was in the form of poetry. Prose was a later invention. The rhythm in natural speech was omitted from it, only by a conscious effort to do so. The oldest literature was

the fullness and force of the inner life, and its complete mastery over the physical terms at its disposal."—Bascom: *Sociology*, p. 261.

2. Darwin: *Descent of Man*, p. 592.

3. Darwin: *Descent of Man*, pp. 589-590.

listened to, not read, and the music of its rhythmic movement, no less than the meaning of its message, secured its hearing. Julius Caesar said of the ancient Druids of Britain: "They learn to repeat a great many verses so that they sometimes remain (in school) twenty years. They think it an unhallowed thing to commit their lore to writing."⁴ The epics of Homer, the original of the early Biblical narratives, and the remnants of the Babylonian writings, preserved by wedge-shaped characters on blocks of clay, were all in forms of verse. The utterances of the American Indians were full of symbol, parable and rhythm, all poetic forms of speech.

502. Word Pictures and Oratory.—On great and grave occasions, when great souls give voice to the race thought of the hour, and real oratory speaks again, it is the imagery, the word picture, the parable, the rhythm of both voice and movement which awakens the sleeping artist in all men, and compels them "to hear him gladly" even while they hear words of their own reproof.

503. Form and Color.—The same is true of form and color as it is of speech. In voice and form and color, the artist is really older than is man himself. The beginnings of man's use of all these were in efforts of the sexes to attract each other across sex lines. It was the ornament, the display and the long low love call of one waiting for his mate that was the beginning of all art, and this beginning was made in the animal life which preceded the development of life into the form of man. And it furthermore survives and is shown each hour in the free life of our cousins of the fields and forests. The appreciation of sweetness and beauty of voice, form or color and the desire to impart the joy of this appreciation to others is the incentive to

4. Caesar: Britannia.

all art, and this is a natural inheritance of both man and beast.⁵

The perfect human being is, without dispute, the most complete expression of beauty, in form, color, movement, and voice, yet known to man. It ought to be remembered that man's love of beauty while he had not yet outgrown the shaggy and disheveled career of his brute ancestry, operated through the well known laws of evolutionary sex selection to create, through the long centuries of his growth, these forms of beauty and this voice of song.

504. Life, Love and Art.—Architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and literature all appeal to the eye or ear and all attempt to create in those who see or listen, the emotions which inspire their creation.⁶ It is not only true that the earliest art was the effort to speak across sex lines, but it is still true that the emotions, the mysteries and the aspirations of life which culminate in sex relations, reaching backward to the cradle and forward to the grave, are still the subject and substance of all art.

If it be a song, there is somewhere the thought of

5. "The esthetic faculty does not seem to be traceable quite as far back as is animal altruism, which is found in some asexual forms and perhaps in Protozoa, but when it is found it is always conscious. All sexual selection is based on it, and we saw how early this began to transform the male element, to mold it into forms and to adorn it with hues that charmed the female. We traced these transformations up through the successively higher types till they culminated in such glorious objects as the male bird of paradise, the lyre bird, the peacock's tail, and the pheasant's plumes. It cropped out in the insect world in quite another way, more directly connected with the ontogenetic forces, led to the cross fertilization of flowers, and gave to the world its floral beauties. Similarly it has been well-nigh demonstrated that many of the large and luscious showy fruits have resulted from the advantage that their attractiveness to birds gave them in securing the wider distribution of such forms and their consequent survival in the struggle for existence. Thus long anterior to the advent of man the esthetic faculty, as a necessary concomitant of nerve (we can scarcely say brain) development, was embellishing the earth with products that the highest human tastes unanimously agree to call beautiful."—Ward: *Pure Sociology*.

6. Tolstoi: *What is Art*, pp. 70-71.

love, or of the life which is dear because of love. If it be a landscape, there is the teeming life of the orchard and the meadow and the glad companionship of the flocks and herds. If it be a cathedral, there is the gloom and silence, the majesty and beauty which speaks of the greatness and value of the life it would reveal. If it be a story, it is flat and meaningless, unless it tells of the passion of some lonely life. If it be a battle scene, it is but coarse blotches of meaningless color, unless it tells of resistance against the enemy of wife or home or country—and country as the defender not the despoiler of all of life. If it be a mountain peak, lonely and silent, and beyond approach, were it not for the loneliness of the human heart, it would be meaningless. The picture of the Holy Mother—and when was worthy motherhood other than holy—or of the helpless child, or of the marriage feast, or of the sad and silent mourner for the lost, all these speak of love, and gladden only those who, too, have loved.

505. Joy of Life the Source of Art.—Art is the expression of the joy of life. There can be no art where there is no joy. Great art means great life with the fullness of joy, and art as the glad expression of its greatness.

Now what are the relations of capitalism and Socialism to the fine arts?

506. Capitalism Cuts Off the Sources of Art.—Capitalism destroys the joy of life which makes art possible. All men who toil, all traders and salesmen, and commercial travelers and clerks are compelled, under capitalism, to live and act as servants or as masters. Each man's life is made dependent, not on the common life of all, but on the special whim or fancy of some master. Even the masters depend on one another in such a manner as to make no life really free. Now the first essential of the life which makes art possible is

that it shall be glad. The compulsory life of capitalism makes a free, and so a glad, life impossible. There is no way by which free life can be secured for any one, until the existence of every one shall be made secure without dependence on any one who can by any means deprive him of his living. Such a condition can never be under capitalism.

Socialism will secure the livelihood of all, and therefore Socialism would give the freedom which would make possible the gladness of this common life. Socialism would thus restore the very thing which capitalism takes away, and without which real art can never be.

507. Loss of Leisure.—Capitalism deprives the ordinary man of the leisure and the means, either to produce or to enjoy the works of art.⁷ This lack of leisure deprives the world of the art work of the multitudes who have the natural endowment but not the time nor the means with which to cultivate either taste or skill; and it makes a tragedy of the lives of those who, in hunger and neglect, nevertheless strive to give expression to the beauty they see around them, and which, in the travail of their own sorrows, they strive to reveal to others.⁸

508. "Worn Out."—But the others are overworked and underfed, or they are underworked and overfed, and in either case they are deaf and blind to the music and beauty of the penniless genius. Because there is no time, the people cannot learn the song of life, and if

7. "Hence sociology looks to the equalization of social relations. Civilization is a miserably crude experiment until it is possible for each member of society to command food and clothing and shelter and surplus and leisure enough to permit progressive and all-sided expansion of manhood."—Small and Vincent: *Introduction to the Study of Society*, p. 79.

8. "The immense product of the imagination in art and literature is a concrete fact with which every educated human being should be made somewhat familiar, such product being a very real part of every individual's actual environment."—Eliot: *Educational Reforms*, p. 405.

they could, they have neither time nor spirit left to share in the singing. When "piped unto" they cannot "dance." They do not know the music, nor have they strength or time.

509. Deaf and Blind.—It is not the poor alone who cannot share in the joy which art might give. It is the rich as well. The one is bound by his poverty, the other by conventionalism. The poor man goes to a poor show not because his tastes are low, but because it is cheap. The rich man goes to the best of plays, not because he understands or appreciates them, but because it is the fashion. His commercialism has blinded him to the greatest beauty.⁹ It is a common remark among the best artists, both in the drama and the concert, that they are paid by the private boxes and the orchestra circle, but that they are appreciated by the ushers and the gallery. Under Socialism, leisure will be within the reach of all; genius will not need to starve the body in order to gratify the heart, and those who really love music and drama will not need to deny themselves of the comforts of life in order to secure a seat in the gallery when genius speaks or sings.¹⁰

Under Socialism and because of the leisure it will secure for all, instead of the few who now enjoy and

9. "Since the time of the Roman aristocracy what has any aristocracy done for art and literature or law? They have for over a thousand years been in possession of nearly the whole resources of every country in Europe. They have had its wealth, its libraries, its archives, its teachers at their disposal; and yet was there ever a more pitiful record than the list of 'Royal and Noble Authors?' * * * The painting and the sculpture of modern Europe owe not only their glory, but their very existence, to the labors of poor and obscure men. The great architectural monuments by which its soil is covered were hardly any of them the product of aristocratic feeling or liberality."—Godkin: *Problems in Modern Democracy*, pp. 63 * * * 4.

10. "I had to go to Verona by the afternoon train. In the carriage with me were two American girls with their father and mother, people of the class which has lately made so much money suddenly, and does not know what to do with it; and these two girls, of about fifteen and eighteen, had evidently been indulged in everything (since they had had the means), which western civilization could imagine. And here they

yet a smaller number who now produce the works of art, the millions will be able to enjoy and the tens of thousands to produce a better art than the world has ever known.

510. Patronage and Monopoly.—Capitalism has become the special patron of the artist but its patronage is a blight rather than a blessing. It offers a prize for producing that which can only come as the glad ex-

were, specimens of the utmost which the money and invention of the nineteenth century could produce in maidenhood,—children of the most progressive race,—enjoying the full advantages of political liberty, of enlightened philosophical education, of cheap pilfered literature, and of luxury at any cost. Whatever money, machinery or freedom of thought could do for these two children had been done. No superstition had deceived, no restraint degraded them; types they could not but be of maidenly wisdom and felicity, as conceived by the forwardmost intellects of our time.

“And they were traveling through a district which, if any in the world, should touch the hearts and delight the eyes of young girls. Between Venice and Verona! Portia’s villa perhaps in sight upon Brenta—Juliet’s tomb to be visited in the evening,—blue against the southern sky the hills of Petrarch’s home. Exquisite midsummer sunshine, with low rays, glanced through the vine leaves; all the Alps were clear, from the lake of Garda to Cadore, and to furthest Tyrol, What a princess’ chamber, this, if these are princesses, and what dreams might they not dream therein. But these two American girls, surfeited so with indulgence, they had reduced themselves simply to two pieces of white putty that could feel pain. The flies and dust stuck to them as to clay, and they perceived, between Venice and Verona, nothing but the flies and the dust. They pulled down the blinds the moment they entered the carriage, and then sprawled, and writhed, and tossed among the cushions of it, in vain contest, during the whole fifty miles, with every miserable sensation of bodily affliction that could make time intolerable. They were dressed in their white frocks, coming vaguely open at the backs as they stretched or wiggled; they had French novels, lemons, and lumps of sugar, to beguile their state with; the novels hanging together by the ends of string that had once stitched them, or adhering at the corners in densely bruised dog’s-ears, out of which the girls, wetting their fingers, occasionally extricated a gluey leaf. From time to time they cut a lemon open, ground a lump of sugar backward and forward over it till every fibre was in a treacly pulp, then sucked the pulp, and gnawed the skin into leathery strings, for the sake of its bitter. Only one sentence was exchanged, in the fifty miles, on the subject of things outside the carriage (the Alps being once visible from a station where they had drawn up the blinds).

“‘Don’t those snow-caps make you cool?’

“‘No; I wish they did.’

“And so they went their way, with sealed eyes and tormented limbs, their numbered miles of pain.”—*Ruskin, quoted by Rich: The Communism of John Ruskin, pp. 199-200.*

pression of that which is in the artist, and secures as a result, not an expression of the joy that was within him, but an imitator of what some other imitator made when he imitated somebody else.

The prize winning artist wins the prize because he is true to the conventional standard, not because he is true to himself. The prize promotes the conventional, while it smothers the original. The patronage of the capitalist sets the artist to making what will satisfy the market, not what will express himself. It causes the public to value art, not by the joy it gives, but solely by the satisfaction of securing some commercial curiosity regardless of ability to appreciate or to understand the work itself. And so, again, real art suffers at the hands of these dead counterfeits.

When capitalism takes from the market a really great creation it is to monopolize it, to exclude from it those who could appreciate it, and to make, by means of it, a vulgar display of wealth, not so much by displaying the work of art as by advertising its cost.

Capitalistic patronage of art corrupts, misleads and destroys the artist's work, when coming into existence, and then monopolizes, degrades and misinterprets it, when in spite of patronage some real genius has produced something real in art.

Again, this patronage only reaches the real genius after the years of penury and neglect have so embittered his life that even the appreciation of his work can have but small effect, either as a reward to the artist, or an incentive to further work.¹¹

Under Socialism no man will ever need the patronage of another in order to express himself in things of beauty or in words of song. It is inconceivable that under Socialism the works of genius would remain the

11. Ruskin: Political Economy and Art.

monopolized curiosities of those who cannot appreciate them, while those who can would be excluded from their presence.

Under Socialism and in the absence of capitalistic patronage, the real artist can do real work, and those for whom it is done will not be prevented from appreciating and enjoying it because of the poverty of the artist or the meanness of some private patron.

511. Natural Beauty and Commercial Ugliness.—The world of nature is full of beauty. It is the world which capitalism has created that is full of ugliness. It is the practical world of capitalism, which can see no reason why the world should not be made a place of ugliness if it pays.

Capitalism has made deserts of the fields and forests. It has built hovels and unsightly tenements for the workers. It has defaced the rocks and deformed the landscape, with its fences, bill boards, and unsightly smoke stacks. It has befouled the streams and destroyed the waterfalls. It has deserted the places of beauty, only to overcrowd the flat and unhealthy swamp lands, as convenient for shipping as they are unfit for habitation. It has put ugliness, with a dividend attached to it, into open competition with beauty, with no return but the natural joy of life, and under economic pressure ugliness has won in the market place.

Under the sway of capitalism, art has become a false and hypocritical pretense. She speaks alone in the palaces of the few, and shows her face only to those who have betrayed her. Ugliness has become the master of the world. Capitalism builds its death trap in shop and hovel and kills beauty as ruthlessly as it murders men.

512. Never Seeing the World.—Only Socialism can see a reason why the desert should be covered with

blossoms, why the toilers should "dress and keep" the earth for its beauty, as well as for its food. The earth is the natural inheritance of all; not alone the natural resources which can be turned into articles of use for the comfort of all, but its natural beauty also. But capitalism has kept the many so busy and so poor, that they have no knowledge of its grandeur, and this marvelous environment which nature has placed about her children, to open their eyes and to teach them the lessons of the good and the beautiful, is never even known by them.

The mountains and canons of Colorado, the waterfalls like Spokane and Niagara, the stately movements of the Columbia, the St. Lawrence or the Hudson, the clear and placid waters of a mountain lake, the glory of a northern midnight, the grandeur of the Andes or the Alps, the marvelous scenery of the Rhine, the curious atmospheric effects of a British summer day, the clear light which places at one's side the snow capped peaks of the distant ranges, the indescribable light and color of an Alaskan glacier, the glory and power of a sunlit storm at sea, with a rainbow riding in the white foam of every broken crest—all these are nature, speaking, and beckoning to her children to see and to know the beautiful, and yet, under capitalism, for most men these things might as well never to have been at all.

Socialism will so cheapen travel, and so enrich the workers, that the ends of the earth will be brought nigh. What an added meaning to a picture, when it suggests a memory so splendid as one's own presence in the midst of the most wonderful things in nature. How all the world of art will come to all the world anew, when all the world itself is known by all her children.

513. Art Is Social.—All art is necessarily social, Its object is to express one's life for the purpose of

effecting the transfer of its own joy to and into the life of another. All capitalism is necessarily anti-social. Its purpose is to extract from another, and at his loss, the things he needs for his use and comfort and for the profit of the one, regardless of the ruin of the other.

Art gives joy. Profit gives grief. The one sings its song to express its gladness and to make the listener glad. The other repeats its jargon and lays its traps, regardless of consequences and leaves all who come under its power in bitterness and despair.

514. The Art Gallery and the Market Place.—Now, the things of utility cannot be managed with regard to the one motive, and the things of beauty with regard to the other. If the motive of profit is to remain in the market it cannot be kept from the drama and the art gallery. If the social idea of art is to obtain a footing, even in the art gallery and the concert hall, then it must be extended to the market. Either men will make clothes with the social ideal of the artist or they will paint pictures with the sordid ideal of the market.¹² Whichever rules in either must in the end be the master of both. Under Socialism the motive of the artist will be the master of all.

515. Art and the Fashion Plates.—Fashions are the

12. "From the sixteenth century downward, the man of imagination, unable to please the economic taste, has starved.

"This mercenary quality forms the gulf which has divided the art of the Middle Ages from that of modern times—a gulf which can not be bridged, and which has broadened with the lapse of centuries, until at last the artist, like all else in society, has become the creature of a commercial market, even as the Greek was sold as a slave to the plutocrat of Rome. * * * In an economic period, like that which has followed the Reformation, wealth is the form in which energy seeks expression; therefore, since the close of the fifteenth century, architecture has reflected money."

"No poetry can bloom in the arid modern soil, the drama has died, and the patrons of art are no longer even conscious of shame at profaning the most sacred ideals. The ecstatic dream, which some twelfth century monk cut into the stones of the sanctuary hallowed by the presence of his God, is reproduced to bedizen a warehouse; or the plan of an abbey, which Saint Hugh may have consecrated, is adapted to a railway station."—Adams: *Law of Civilization and Decay*, pp. 381 * *

creations of the capitalists. They are devised by them, enforced by them, changed by them, and they are enforced and changed, to be remade, enforced and changed again, not by any advance in art, nor by any activity of the artist, but solely and only for the sake of the profit to be obtained by such a process.

The perfect human form is admitted to be the object of the highest beauty. The most splendid achievements of art have been in giving expression to the human form. But conventionalism has decreed that man's body is unclean, and the fashion plate has declared it ugly. Every artistic sense of color, of form and of movement is violated, every line of beauty broken. The natural form is pinched, and twisted and padded, and betrayed, to make of the victim a walking advertisement for the maker of the fashion plate. If sex selection, based on lines of beauty in the natural form of the naked savage, and the natural longing for its production, promoted the perfection of the form of man, then the contemplation of his dress and the maternal longing for a child that would fit his clothes, under present forms, would tend to make of him an unbearable deformity.

516. Wrecking the Masterpiece.—Art had its birth in beautifying and perfecting the forms of human life. Its earliest and its best expressions were in naked human forms of ivory and gold and marble, whose beauty has not been known since civilization came to cover men with rags and sores. Civilization has broken and enslaved man's spirit. It has bent and twisted and deformed his body. It has surrounded him with disorder and desolation. It has filled him with disease, and covered him with all manner of ugliness. It has organized the means of his oppression and has called it business. It has taught him to be ashamed of that which was his glory, and to honor that which should be his

shame—and the culmination of capitalism is the culmination of this career of disaster to the artistic qualities and longings of the race.

Socialism, on the other hand, will give the fullest expression to the social ideals of the real artist.

517. Capitalism Doing Its Best.—Capitalism is not to be blamed for extending its maxims and its methods to the art which its patronage makes possible. The Chicago pork packers and grain speculators are giving the best they have when they carry the stock yards and the Board of Trade into the Art Institute. The artist who longs for an art that is unknown at the Institute, the free and glad expression of a life both free and glad, can never be heard on the subject of beauty until the artist's social instincts shall not only enter the Institute, but enter every place of toil and trade.¹³

518. Strength and Beauty.—As a thing of utility a dress is strong. As a thing of art, it is a thing of beauty. But the dress is not two things, one strong and the other beautiful. It is one thing, and it is both strong

13. "Artistic tastes will not be gratified on a large scale until the utility of art exceeds its cost. Unartistic men control industrial organizations, the churches, and public affairs, because they are more active, and while they are in control churches, railroad stations and public buildings will be constructed with but little regard to their looks. All this would be changed if artistic and literary ideals promoted activity. The men they influence would then control social and industrial organizations and could determine the form of buildings and other objects, if the net gain of their activity to society was greater than the additional cost of making their environment pleasing. Under present conditions, however, art is associated with leisure and is confined to galleries and museums, which ordinary people see only on holidays. It is thus sought chiefly by the inactive and overfed, who seek a relief from monotony by sensory stimulations. Pleasures that do not promote adjustment are detrimental, and those who indulge in them are sure to be eliminated. We are thus breeding against art and not in its favor. The classes affected by it are so differentiated from the racial standards that they cease to meet the conditions on which survival depends. They become sterilized and leave the world to those who adhere more fully to racial standards. Artists and writers, therefore, are made at the present time by education and conversion, but not by breeding. So long as this situation continues, there can be little net progress in art. Each new generation of artists rises out of the same inartistic conditions, develops in the same way, and dies out by gradual extinction."—Patten: *Development of English Thought*, p. 386.

and beautiful. It is absurd to think that the social instinct of the artist could fix its form and its color, while greed for gain could fix its comfort and its strength. Now greed fixes both. Under Socialism the social instinct of the artist will be the master of all. That is why the real artist is always a Socialist.¹⁴

519. Artists Are Socialists.—Plato, John of Patmos, Augustine, More and Bellamy, and every other dreamer who has tried to give a literary picture of a higher life for man, has found that art could not even dream of a better life, and leave as any share of its picture the pitiless penury and distress of capitalism. Drummond mentions that John saw a city “without a church.”

14. “We have seen that the essential condition of all art is the psychic power of forming ideals. Their execution is certain to follow their creation. It has often been remarked that persons of an artistic turn of mind often become, especially in later life, social reformers, and the examples of Ruskin, William Morris, Howells, Bellamy, and others are brought forward. I once heard a lecturer on Sociology at a university lay great emphasis on this fact before his class, and he treated it simply as a remarkable and apparently inexplicable coincidence. This led me to reflect upon it, but the explanation was not far to seek. An artist, or art critic, like Ruskin, possesses a mind specially constituted for seeing ideals in nature. Such a mind instantly detects the defects in everything observed and unconsciously supplies the missing parts. This faculty is general, and need not be confined to human features, to architectural designs, to statues, portraits and landscapes. It may take any direction. After a life engaged in the search of ideals in the world of material things, the mind often grows more serious and is more and more sympathetic. It lays more stress on moral defects, and in the most natural way conceivable it proceeds to form ethical and social ideals by the same process that it has always formed esthetic ideals. The defectiveness of the social state in permitting so much suffering is vividly represented, and the image of an ideal society in which this would be prevented spontaneously arises in the mind. Instinctively, too, the born artist now becomes a social artist, proceeds to construct such an ideal society, and we have a great array of Utopias, and Arcadias, and Altrureas. * * * To indulge in an apparent hyperbole, the moral and social reformer, nay, the social and political agitator or even fanatic, provided he be sincere and not a self-seeker, exercise the same function as the poet, the sculptor, and the painter, and out of all these fields of art, even from that of music, there have been recruited, in this perfectly natural and legitimate way, philanthropists, humanitarians, socialists, idealists, religious, economic and social reformers. The list is large, but as representative types, besides those already mentioned, we may properly name Victor Hugo, Tolstoi, Wagner, Millet, Swinburne and George Eliot.”—Ward: *Pure Sociology*, pp. 83-84.

But it was also without a bank, a real estate office or a labor market, and in his city the fixed condition of every service was "to every one according as his work is."¹⁵ Wagner in music, Millet among the painters, Morris, Ruskin, Carlyle, Zola, Hugo, Dickens and Burns among the singers of songs and the tellers of stories, and the whole number of those who, with them, have given to the world the art it has, have succeeded in doing so only as they have defied and deserted the spirit of capitalism, and have caught the social instinct which under Socialism will make the whole earth a place of beauty and every daily task of life an expression of its joy.

520. Summary.—1. Capitalism, through the poverty which it causes, destroys the joy of life on which art depends for its existence.

2. Capitalism, through the relations of mastery and servitude which the wage system enforces, prevents the fullness of liberty, without which no life can freely express itself, and so makes real art impossible.

3. Capitalism, through its patronage of art, humiliates the artist and degrades his work.

4. Capitalism monopolizes the works of art, so that that which should be the joy of all is made the misunderstood and unappreciated curiosity of the few.

5. Capitalism, because of the lack of leisure, and cost of travel under its rule, withholds from the masses any opportunity to even see the most beautiful in nature or to cultivate the taste to understand or the skill to create real art.

6. Socialism will restore the joy of life, by making certain the means of life for all, so far as poverty or the fear of poverty is able to make life miserable.

7. Socialism will abolish the relations of mastery

15. Revelation: XXII., 12. (New version).

and servitude. Under Socialism the superintendent will be a public servant, answerable to those at work under his direction, not to a private boss answerable to a non-resident stockholder. Socialism will make all men free, and so with liberty will make possible the art which waits for liberty.

8. Under Socialism the artist will need the patronage of no one, and his products cannot be monopolized by the few, and the many will have both the leisure and the means for study, travel and for art production.

9. Under Socialism the motive and the instincts of the artist will rule the world, and every highway, forest, field, household, workshop, or market place will be a work of art and so an object of beauty, a minister to the joy of life.

10. Under Socialism it will not only be true, as now, that artists will be Socialists, but then the artisans will be artists also.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. What is the difference between the industrial arts and the fine arts?
2. Which was first to come into existence?
3. Give an account of the development of speech, first in music and poetry, and afterward in prose. What of the most ancient writings?
4. What is the purpose of art, in the motive which moves the artist to produce his work? What of sex lines as the occasion for the work of the early artists?
5. What of the art instinct as a factor in the development of the human form?
6. Show that all art has some direct relation to the emotions of the heart. Why is there no art where there is no love? Give relations of great art to great life.
7. How does capitalism destroy the joy of life? What of toilers and traders? What of masters in their relations to each other?
8. How does the lack of means and leisure affect art for those who are artists, and those who would enjoy art? What of the rich man's appreciation of art?
9. Does art depend upon capitalistic patronage? What is the effect of such patronage? On the general public? On the artist? What of the prize winning artist? Under it, what becomes of the best art?
10. How does capitalism destroy natural beauty? How does it prevent the many from enjoying the best in nature?
11. What of the fashions? Their relation to capitalism and to art? What of the human form?

12. Can the things of beauty and the things of utility be separated and the artist's motive rule in one place and the commercial instincts rule in the other?

13. How would Socialism affect art, as to the joy of life? **As** to means and the leisure for the production and the enjoyment of art? As to the liberty which would make the artist free to produce the best that is in him? As to the monopoly of the products of art? As to fashions? As to natural beauty and the world's wonders?

14. What has been true of all artistic efforts to make a literary picture of a higher life for man?

15. Why are artists Socialists?

CHAPTER XXX

RELIGION AND SOCIALISM

521. The Thinking Animal.—The word man is derived from an old term which meant “to think.” Man is the animal that thinks. Thinking involves the process of comparing things in order to discover their relations. Instinct is an impulse to act in some given way without consciously thinking about the action. Instinct is believed to be an inheritance from the experience of one’s ancestors. The ability to think is called reason. It is said that man is governed by reason and animals by instinct. It is a disputed question whether some animals do not reason. It is not disputed that some men have only the smallest power to do so. It is certain that at the beginning of man’s career, man, the thinking animal, must have been governed by his instincts.

522. Oldest Instincts.—The long centuries of experience, during which his animal ancestry had developed his instincts, had been given to the struggle for existence, and just as the ruling impulse, the instinct, of a fledgling is to try its wings in flight, so the ruling impulse, the race instinct of man at the beginning of his

career as man, was to use all his powers in this struggle for existence.

The struggle had been with heat and cold, with hunger and disease with strangers and with beasts of prey. These, then, were his foes and the instinct, the ruling impulse of his life, was to be at war with them.

523. Moving and Motionless—Living and Dead.—

It is impossible to understand how the first discovery, the result of self-directed reflection, could have been anything other than that some things move and some things do not move. He stood by the side of beasts or men. While living they moved. When dead they were motionless. His earliest classification must have been the moving and the motionless, the living and the dead.¹

Men still speak of "dead matter" and "living water." Matter is not dead in the sense it was formerly supposed to be, and flowing streams do not live as they were understood to live when the expression "living water" was given to our forms of speech.

To the first thinkers, the sun and the moon and the stars were seen to be in motion, and comparison with living things taught them to believe that these heavenly bodies were themselves alive. The trees grew, the rivers flowed, the fruits ripened, the clouds crossed the skies and broke into the noise and fury of the storm. The winds kissed man's face, sung in the hanging branches, and shrieked in the winter's blast. All these were regarded as living things, for life alone gave motion. How great and marvelous the life which moved the cataract or whose voice was the thunder or whose breath was the storm.

524. The Breath of Life.—When beasts or men no longer breathed, they were seen to die. Comparison of living things with those that did not live taught them

1. Clodd: *Childhood of the World*, p. 18.

that to breathe was to live, and to lose one's breath was at once to die. Gust and ghost are different ways of spelling the same word. Both mean the same thing.²

In all growing, moving things they understood there was a ghost, a spirit, life. With all these things, as man came to know them, he was struggling to preserve his own life. He thought of these things as having life and with life he understood them also to possess all the hopes and fears, the hunger and despair which he found in his own life's experience.

525. The Origin of Worship.—In his struggle for existence he could not have been very long in making the discovery that there were things which by his strength he could control, and other things from which he must escape, or whose good will he must secure or else be overcome by them. Again, the classification was natural and easy. The things of which he was master were one class and the things which were his masters made up another class. As he attributed to all the things with which he struggled the qualities of his own mind, he soon learned to seek the good will of all things stronger than himself in forest, field and storm or sky, by offering the same services for their good will which he would be ready to accept from some life inferior to his own.

He fought with whatever force he thought to be less than his own. He surrendered to whatever force he could see no way to overcome. What he could whip he whipped, and what he could not whip he worshipped.

526. Fetishism—The Worship of Things.—The earliest form of worship, and this is true everywhere and of all the races of mankind, was Fetishism.³ It means the worship of things, each separate thing by itself.

2. Clodd: *Childhood of the World*, p. 21.

3. Clodd: *Childhood of the World*, p. 22.

527. Polytheism—Many Masters of Groups of Things.—The first advance in the development of religion was made when man, by the process again of the comparison of things, discovered that all trees of any particular kind grew and blossomed and brought to maturity their nuts and fruits in the same manner.⁴ All the streams seemed to be moving alike. The waterfalls broke into spray of the same kind, they sang the same songs, and hung in the mists above them the same rainbow everywhere. It was an easy step to understand that the same spirit was in them all. Each separate thing now ceased to be a god, and each class of things became the subject of its own particular divinity. Before, the storm itself was a god, but now they said, "He rides upon the storm."

This form of worship is called polytheism (many gods), and under it worship passed from the worship of things to the worship of the masters of many things.

528. One God and One Evil Spirit—Masters of All.—The next step, now that it has been taken, seems most natural and easy. But we are looking at the problem with the conclusions of the thought of many centuries as the common thought and speech made familiar to us from the earliest moments of our childhood. The process of comparison by which it could be discovered that there were characteristics in the movements and products of all things which indicated that there was one master of all things, instead of many masters of many things, was not an easy step to take.

The difference between the harvest and the plagues which destroyed the harvests, between doves and snakes, between food and poison, between the strength of youth and the pestilence that "walketh at noonday" was so great and so difficult of explanation, if both were the action of the same Great Spirit, that man was

4. Clodd: *Childhood of the World*, p. 25.

unable to make the passage from polytheism to monotheism—from many gods to one god—except it be believed that the Great Spirit of all was at war with a lesser and malignant spirit and that in the fortunes of this warfare of the gods, whenever evil befell him, either it was because of the wrath of the Great Spirit or the victim of misfortune had been caught in the enemy's country.

The beginning of this worship of one God of all good spirits and the execration of the one malignant master of all minor devils, brings us to the closing years of barbarism and to the opening centuries of civilization with its written records and its sacred books and to the beginning of the written story of the further development of religion.

529. Common Grounds of Scholarship of All Creeds.

—It is not within the scope of this discussion to enter upon any of the questions of dispute regarding the authority of the sacred writings or of the ecclesiastical organizations. The purpose of this chapter will not require us to go outside of the field where all that is stated is admitted to be true by the best scholarship of all the creeds and by the creedless scholarship as well.

It is the purpose of this chapter to call attention to the way in which religion is now monopolized and debased by the rule of capitalism. If it is true that a great factor in the life of man which has come with him from the beginning and has had so large a share in the processes of his development is debased by capitalism and would be liberated, ennobled and made a thousand-fold more effective under Socialism, then all alike should swing wide their doors to welcome this new factor in the life of man.

530. The Evolution of Religion.—It has been seen in Chapter III that at the beginning of the story of man's life on earth he was entirely without organiza-

tion.⁵ Ignorant of the nature of his surroundings, guided by the instincts of his animal ancestry, afraid of each separate thing which had the power to harm him, his fears evolved a faith which also was without organization. Having no conception of any established relations between himself and his fellows, it was impossible that he should think of such relations between the things he worshipped.

531. Beginnings of Organization.—But as organization advanced among men and they built their camps together, kept a common fire, organized fishing companies, hunted and cultivated the fields and herded the flocks together, it became alike impossible that the organization which they were able to develop among themselves they should continue forever to think impossible among the gods. Hence, as the chief began to appear among men, the master of gods came to be thought of among the gods.

532. Cannibalism.—Under fetish worship, cannibalism was the most natural thing to come into existence. If some one man became mightier than many others and each thing had life, great or small, according to its strength, then great warriors were great gods and “to drink their blood and to eat their flesh” was to absorb the divinity of the captured warrior. This practice and this creed was found among all races of men and in all lands in the earlier stages of the race life.⁶ It shows why, in human sacrifices, the strongest and the most beautiful were required for the offering and why, when animals were at last substituted for men, the offering had to be spotless and the choicest of the flock.

533. The Families of Gods.—The fact that all rivers had certain qualities in common was not realized by

5. See Chapter IV.

6. Morgan: *Ancient Society*.

men before organization among themselves had made its appearance. When they passed from the worship of things to the worship of the masters of things, mastery was a sort of democratic function, exercised by groups of men, who were themselves kinsmen. The new gods were members of the family of the gods and at the first exercised their powers after the manner of the primeval groups of savages who were working their way into the institutions of earlier barbarism.

534. The Gods of War.—The leisure class began to appear with the organization of religion, the universality of inter-tribal wars and with the beginning of slavery. The wars were between the gods as well as between the tribes. The tribes which were victorious were believed to have won in battle because the gods of the victors had overcome and subdued the gods of the vanquished. It is believed that the supposed share which the gods had in these tribal wars was no small factor in effecting the change from the massacre to the enslavement of those beaten in battle.⁷

535. Religion and Slavery.—The relation of this form of religion to slavery is better seen in the life of ancient Rome than anywhere else, because here the military life which created the economic demand for slaves, the worship of the many gods of polytheism and slavery, as a method of industry, all reached their highest development.

While previous world powers had destroyed the gods and forbidden the religions of the conquered peoples, Rome captured the images and carried the gods captive to the Roman Pantheon, a temple for all the gods, and so reinforced the captivity of the conquered countries by the captivity of their gods. Rome became also the patron of the conquered gods and provided support for the priests who ministered unto them and in

7. J. K. Ingram: *History of Slavery*, p. 8.

this way effected an alliance with the trusted religious teachers of conquered peoples and so was able to use the religion of a conquered tribe to enforce its slavery.⁸

536. The Jews, the Romans and the Tribal Gods.—

The Jews and Romans could never come to an understanding because the Jews had no god which the Romans were able to make a captive.⁹

As long as the petty tribal life lasted and the petty tribal wars continued, the gods were petty tribal gods engaged in petty tribal matters.

537. The One Military Master and the One God.—

In tracing the story of the development of religion in Rome, it is seen that just as the ancient democracy of the original tribes developed into the great political power, which, on its industrial side, was a slave power, and, in the method of its administration, was a military power, so the conception of the gods changed from the family of quarreling gods to the absolutism of the one military master. The European mind was never able to think of one God ruling all the heavens and the earth, until after all Europe had felt the power of one emperor ruling all the world.

It was only after the world power had been developed and enforced for centuries and all men were compelled to submit to a central human power, that the idea of the one universal and unseen God was able to strongly move the minds of men. It was after the "ends of the earth" and the "Isles of the Sea" had paid tribute to Rome that the creed of Abraham became the faith of the world, and then only by keeping a place for evil spirits in order to explain the plague and famine which

8. J. K. Ingram: *History of Slavery*, p. 8.

9. "When Pompey first conquered the Jews and forced his way into their temple, he reported that it was empty and their secret rites unmeaning." See Tacitus: *History*, 5, 9. He could not conceive of a god which he could not find and carry away by force of arms, after he had captured his temple.

it was thought could not come to a devout people, except a devil be the bearer of them.

538. The Ancient Priesthood.—The ancient priesthood gathered to itself all the functions of the leisure and professional classes. The world was divided into soldiers and slaves. The priest ranked with the soldier. In youth the priest was the soldier's teacher, in sickness his physician, in war his counselor and soothsayer, and in peace his law-giver.

539. The Law of Growth.—A tree grows whether it will or not, and by a process of natural selection and the survival of the best adapted, it may improve as the centuries pass. But the hand of man may quicken the process of improvement. Under his conscious selection and training, plants, animals and men improve, not by the overriding of the natural order, but by learning it and the more completely complying with the natural law of life.¹⁰

540. Great Services of the Church.—It would be absurd as well as untrue to deny or to belittle the great service of ecclesiastical orders during the long years since soldiers have been trying to conquer the world to the authority of a single political power and the missionaries have been striving to convert the world to a single religion.

During the centuries of disorder which followed the collapse of ancient European civilization, the church preserved from utter loss the literature, the agricul-

10. No economist of reputation at the present day would attempt to ignore the ethical aspects of an institution, as might have been done fifty years ago. Instead of asserting the complete independence of economics and ethics, the modern economist, whether individualist or Socialist, would insist on the close connection between the two sciences. He would say that nothing can be economically beneficial which was ethically bad, because such economic benefits could only be transitory. He would insist with equal force that nothing could be ethically good which was economically disastrous, because in this case also destruction must ensue with equal certainty."—Hadley: *Economics*, pp. 22-23.

ture, the horticulture, the learning, the medicine and the law of the older order. For many centuries her sanctuary was the only refuge and her voice the only authority strong enough to enforce obedience. But under slavery, her temples were patronized and her priesthood supported by the masters, and the priesthood bid the slave be content and to submit. Under serfdom, the place of worship was at the mercy of the lords, and the master at the altar bid the master of spear and lance to treat the rebellious serfs "like mad dogs." Under the wage system the form of the church has largely changed with the form of industrial organization. The reformation of the church everywhere accompanied the collapse of feudalism.¹¹

541. The Unity of All Nature.—The developments of modern life have separated the professions of law, medicine and of the teacher from the priesthood. The marvelous modern developments in invention and commerce have been accompanied by the microscope, the telescope, the library and the laboratory. The contradictions in nature, which made difficult the belief in a single universal life in all things, with a common life purpose running through all things, have been studied in the presence of the new worlds which these instruments have revealed. Under scientific tests which men

11. "To trace the influence of the spiritual life in individual and social development would be as easy as it is unnecessary. What is generally forgotten, however, and what it is needful to emphasize again and again, is not only that the content of the conception of morality is a social product, but also that amid the complex social influences that co-operated to produce it, the economic factors have often been of chief significance—that pure ethical or religious idealism has made itself felt only within the limitations of existing economic conditions. The material, as we have seen, has almost always preceded the ethical. Individual actions, like social actions, possessed a material significance long before they acquired an ethical meaning. * * * Since the material precedes the ethical, it will not surprise us to learn that the material conditions of society—that is, in the widest sense, the economic conditions—continually modify the content of the ethical conception. * * * Men are what conditions make them, and ethical ideals are not exempt from the same inexorable law of environment."—Seligman: *The Economic Interpretation of History*, pp. 126 * * * 28.

"have seen with their eyes and handled with their hands," the unity of all nature has been established. It is no longer thought by anyone of learning that one law rules over things which gladden the world and another law over the things of bitterness and disaster. It is now known that this earth "is not a kingdom divided against itself." Its laws are known to be unchanging, unfailing, all-powerful and everywhere and always present. Obedience to the laws which so encompass and control all life is everywhere proclaimed as the law of life.

542. The Highest Religion.—The inventor, the discoverer, the builder, the artist, the artisan, the moralist, the statesman and the law-giver are alike helpless except as they learn and obey these laws. Religion is meaningless except as it is grounded in them and is the interpretation of them. Whoever learns and tells again great nature's secrets is her priest,¹² and whoever is able to give her the service of his life, in obedience to her laws, is the certain recipient of her gifts in the same abundance as is his service.¹³

543. The Order of Advance.—When, in his infancy and his ignorance, man worshipped each separate object which lay about him, he was his own teacher, priest and king. When organization came and men worked and fought in groups for the mastery over other men, the gods were thought to be in groups and the tribes gave "to the great medicine man" of the time the intermediary duties of keeping the peace between gods

12. "A war hero supposes a barbarous condition of the race; and when all shall be civilized, they who know and love the most shall be held to be the greatest and the best."—Bishop Spaulding: *Education and the Higher Life*, p. 171.

13. "For the conservation and perfection of social relations, and for the realization of ideals, the social mind creates institutions. * * * Institutions react for good or ill upon all social functions, and especially upon the supreme social function, the development of personality."—Giddings: *Theory of Socialization*, Syllabus, p. 33.

and men—but woe to the priest who “prophesied not good things for my lord.”

When slavery and war possessed the earth, the forms of religion conformed to the new forms of the industrial life, and the master of the slave camp was master of the altar as well as commander of the armies.

When serfdom came, the lords of the castle and of the cathedral had their interests in common and against the serfs. When the wage system came, the ecclesiastical forms shifted to again suit the limited democracy of early capitalism and now again both school and church conform to the necessities of most modern plutocracy.¹⁴

14. “Thus the economic interpretation of history, correctly understood, does not in the least seek to deny or to minimize the importance of ethical and spiritual forces in history. It only emphasizes the domain within which the ethical forces can at any particular time act with success. To sound the praises of mercy and love to a band of marauding savages would be futile; but when the old conditions of warfare are no longer really needed for self-defense, the moral teacher can do a great work in introducing more civilized practices, which shall be in harmony with the real needs of the new society. It is always on the border line of the transition from the old social necessity to the new social convenience that the ethical reformer makes his influence felt. With the perpetual change in human conditions there is always some kind of a border line, and thus always the need of the moral teacher, to point out the higher ideal and the path of progress. Unless the social conditions, however, are ripe for the change, the demand of the ethical reformer will be fruitless. Only if the conditions are ripe will the reform be effected.

“The moral ideals are thus continually in the forefront of the contest for progress. The ethical teacher is the scout and the vanguard of society; but he will be followed only if he enjoys the confidence of the people, and the real battle will be fought by the main body of social forces, amid which the economic conditions are in last resort so often decisive. There is a moral growth in society, as well as in the individual. The more civilized the society, the more ethical its mode of life. But to become more civilized, to permit the moral ideals to percolate through continually lower strata of the population, we must have an economic basis to render it possible. With every improvement in the material condition of the great mass of the population there will be an opportunity for the unfolding of a higher moral life; but not until the economic conditions of society become far more ideal will the ethical development of the individual have a free field for limitless progress. Only then will it be possible to neglect the economic factor, which may thenceforward be considered as a constant; only then will the economic interpretation of history become a matter for archaeologists rather than for historians.”—Seligman: *The Economic Interpretation of History*, pp. 130-2. See Chapter II.

544. Capitalism and Religion—The Right to Think.

—Man is the animal that thinks. Under capitalism, it is proposed that he shall think along only such lines as will forever lead him to give up the products of his unpaid labor for the free use of those who labor not and then only do such thinking as he can while exhausting all the physical powers of his life in producing wealth which he cannot have for his own or his family's use.

545. Capitalism limits the activity of the religious instincts to nights and Sundays for those who toil and then provides for them, if at all, under conditions where, poorly fed, poorly clothed and outworn with toil, the worker and worshipper is made to feel the humiliation of his helpless dependence, even more bitterly at the altar than at the workshop. Is it any wonder that religion plays so small a part in the life of the average workingman?¹⁵

546. The Mastery of Wealth.—This modern plutocracy rules the church not so much by purposely corrupting the church as because the church is dependent for its support on the few who are able to support her, but will do so only so long as the service of the church is consistent with the economic interests of the masters.¹⁶

In spite of itself the modern church is a respecter of persons. In spite of itself its message and its service is made to serve mankind so far only as is possible with no offense to those who with one hand rob the race and with the other support and control the agencies supposed to exist for the special service of the poor.

547. The Religious Teacher and His Training.—Not

15. "We must first secure a livelihood and then practice virtue."—Aristotle, quoted by Hobson: *Imperialism*, p. 97.

16. "All for ourselves and nothing for other people seems in every age of the world to have been the vile maxim of the masters of mankind."—Adam Smith; quoted by Davidson: *Annals of Toil*, p. 112.

only is the church dependent on the masters for its support, but the pastors and teachers are largely educated at the expense of these same masters, and while the highest motives may suggest these expenditures and no pressure of any conscious sort be exerted by the benefactor of these schools, it is impossible for teachers of religion to come to their positions as teachers at the expense of these masters of the market and not be strongly, if unconsciously, influenced to look with mild censure, if not approval on the crimes of the market which have made possible the endowment of the schools.

548. Work and Worship.—Work and worship cannot be characteristic of the common life so long as great wealth delivers the few from the responsibility of self-support and drives the many to overwork, to long hours, to evil associations, to unsanitary conditions, to ignorance and to the conscious bearing of great wrongs at the hands of the very people whom the church “delights to honor.”

549. The Slaughter of Intelligence.—Intelligence, not ignorance, is the handmaid of religion. The really religious are ruled by their understanding, not by their superstitions. Prejudice is not piety. A refusal to think is no proof of holiness. Inability to think is inability to worship. No other thing in the life of the race has so smitten the common life with personal dependence and mental helplessness as modern capitalism in its most modern form. Its attack on the intelligence and self-possession of the common people is most destructive of any rational faith. It is itself the very essence of irreligion.

550. Socialism and Religion.—Socialists make no attack on religion. They make no attack on the church. The Socialists' proposals are the only economic proposals ever made not in outright violation of the principles of religion.

551. Religious Convictions a Private Matter.—

While the Socialists contend that religion is a private matter with which it is not their purpose in any way to interfere, nevertheless the proposals of the Socialists will deliver society from many things which are inherent in capitalism and are the greatest foes of religion. Mastery and servitude are forbidden by religion. They are inherent in capitalism. They will be impossible under Socialism.

552. Brotherhood.—Brotherhood is commanded by religion. It is impossible under capitalism.¹⁷ It will be inevitable under Socialism. When men cease to rob each other in the market they will enter easily and surely into the natural relations of real brothers. Justice between man and man is commanded by religion. Capitalism cannot exist without injustice. Its maxim is "Every man for himself." The struggle for Socialism is a struggle for justice in economic relations.¹⁸

553. Supporting the Church.—The church builds her cathedrals and palaces and extends her enterprises to the ends of the earth. But her most splendid architecture is but a makeshift and her world-wide enterprises a small affair as compared with what the willing hands of willing workers would do for the churches of their choice were the poor, who even now so largely support the churches which the masters so largely rule,

17. "Our national religion is the performance of church ceremonies, and preaching of soporific truths (or untruths) to keep the mob quietly at work while we amuse ourselves."—Ruskin, quoted by Kidd: *Social Evolution*, p. 89.

18. "No individual competitor can lay down the rules of the combat. No individual can safely choose the higher plane so long as his opponent is at liberty to fight on a lower."—Webb: *Problems of Modern Industry*, p. 249.

19. "How far is it possible to open up to all the material means of a refined and noble life? * * * Much has been said of the physical sufferings and ill-health caused by over-crowded dwellings, but the mental and moral ill-health due to them are greater evils still. With better house room and better food, with less hard work and more leisure, the great mass of our people would have the power of leading a life quite unlike that which they must lead now, a life far higher and far more noble."—Marshall: *Present Position of Economics*, pp. 54-7.

once given for their own disposal the total products of their toil.

554. Boundless Opportunity.—Under Socialism the library, the laboratory, the university, the service of the church the opportunity to study and to understand and that for all the years of youth and for long hours of every day throughout one's lifetime, without the corruption of mastery or the humiliation of servitude of any form will at last be realized for all.

555. Summary.—1. Capitalism is the foe of religion. This is true for the following reasons:

(a) It enforces mastery and servitude in violation of the requirements of brotherhood.

(b) It makes inevitable such ignorance and disorder among its victims as makes most difficult if not impossible any rational religious activity.

(c) It robs the masses of both time and strength for religious duties.

(d) It corrupts morals by enforcing in the shop and market business maxims utterly at variance with the precepts of all the great religions.

(e) It corrupts the life of the people by making the livelihood of the teachers of religion depend on the good will of those whose personal profits depend upon the betrayal of the common good.

2. Socialism is neither religious nor irreligious, but it will in no way interfere with the religion of any, while it will bring about such conditions in the shop and market as will make possible the greatest religious activity of all those who choose to be religious. This is true for the following reasons:

(a) It will abolish mastery and servitude in the shop and market; the betrayal of a brother for the sake of a living will never again be necessary.

(b) Involuntary ignorance and the resulting conditions of disorder will disappear.

(c) There will be time and strength for all for any desirable undertaking aside from earning a living. There will be time and strength for religious purposes.

(d) All men will earn their living under a system which will not itself exist in violation of the precepts of religion.

(e) No teacher of religion will need to be the personal dependent of those more fortunate than himself.

(f) The resources of all the people will be sufficient to enable them at once to abolish the religious beggar and, from ample stores, provide for all the needs of the most ambitious undertakings of the church.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. What was the original meaning of the word man? What is meant by instinct? What is thought to be the origin of the instincts?
2. What was man's first guide and why was he, by his instincts, at war with his surroundings?
3. What is thinking? What was man's first general classification of the things he compared? Why do you think so?
4. Why should he think all moving things to be alive? What did he first worship? Why would he do so?
5. What was the first advance in religion? By what process did men pass from worship of the things to the worship of the masters of things?
6. Why was the passage from the worship of many gods to the worship of one God hard to make? In what way did men account for the seeming contradictions in nature after accepting the belief in one God?
7. While fetishism, the worship of things, was the prevailing religion, what about the forms of social organization?
8. In what way was religion changed when men had come to live in organized tribes and to have chiefs among them?
9. In what way was the worship of many gods related to slavery?
10. When the absolutism of the Roman military government had been established, what change took place in the worship of the gods? Why could not the change have taken place before?
11. What happened to the church everywhere on the collapse of feudalism?
12. Name some of the great services which ecclesiastical organizations have rendered to society.
13. When did the leisure class and the priestly orders first appear?
14. When slavery and war everywhere divided the world between soldiers and slaves, to which side did the priest of the ancient religions belong?
15. How was the unity of all nature at last established? What now is known to be the law of life?
16. In what ways does capitalism affect the church?
17. Why and how will Socialism greatly benefit religion?

CHAPTER XXXI

EDUCATION AND SOCIALISM

556. The Old Education.—Education may be said to be the discovery and application of those laws of life which make for man's improvement.¹

Under the old order of things the education of man was a priestly function. The priesthood taught the slaves submission, taught the soldier obedience, and explained their relations of dependence and all misery as the divine order of things, bitter to endure, but necessary in order to escape greater woes in this life or for man's probation and training for the world to come.

557. The Business Education.—In the separation of education from the functions of the church, the rise of modern capitalism was the chief factor.² The idea of

1. "The ideal of the Prussian National System is given shortly as 'the harmonious and equitable evolution of the human powers'; at more length, in the words of Stein, 'by a method based on the nature of the mind, every power of the soul to be unfolded, every crude principle of life stirred up and nourished, all one-sided culture avoided, and the impulses on which the strength and worth of men rests, carefully attended to.'—Bain: *Education as a Science*, p. 1; and Donaldson: *Lectures on Education*, p. 38.

2. "Education did not have a complete and beautiful development. It was unworthily enslaved to other interests, and both in theory and

an improved man by the process of general education which was characteristic of the old education has been greatly modified by the demand for such special training as will best prepare the student for such a business career.

558. The New Education.—The most modern educational movement, commonly mentioned as “The New Education,” is an effort, with the equipment which modern science has provided, to once more return to the old idea that the purpose of education shall be to produce the greatest strength of mind, body, character, or, in other words, to improve the life and add to its naturalness and its joy.³

559. A Better Market or a Better Life.—But the new educator is not unlike the old priest in at least the one particular that the school is as completely under the control of whatever is most dominant in society as

practice it showed its servile condition.”—Painter: *History of Education*, p. 117, Chapter “Education Before the Reformation.”

3. “So that while the child’s first right and first duty is to adjust himself physiologically to his environment, to learn to walk, to use his hands and to feed himself, to be physically independent, there still remains the great outer circle of education or culture, without contact with which no human being is really either man or woman.”—President Butler: *The Meaning of Education*, pp. 13-14.

“The aim of education is to prepare for complete living. To live completely means to be as useful as possible and to be happy. By usefulness is meant service, i. e., any activity which promotes the material or the spiritual interests of mankind, one or both. To be happy one must enjoy both his work and his leisure.”—Harris: *Educational Aims and Educational Values*, p. 5.

“Too many of us think of education for the people as if it meant only learning to read, write and cipher. Now, reading, writing and simple ciphering are merely the tools by the diligent use of which a rational education is to be obtained through years of well-directed labor. Under any civilized form of government, these arts ought to be acquired by every child by the time it is nine years of age. * * * Moreover, the fundamental object of democratic education—to lift the whole population to a higher plane of intelligence, conduct and happiness—has not yet been apprehended in the United States. Too many of our own people think of popular education as if it were only a protection against dangerous superstitions, a measure of police, or a means of increasing the national productiveness in the arts and trades.”—Eliot: *Educational Reforms*, pp. 401-3.

was ever the church itself. The class struggle is nowhere more evident than in the conflict going on between the educators. One class of teachers view the problem from the necessities of the people under capitalism. Another class of teachers view the problem from the needs of a full, free human life, regardless as to whether or not capitalism is to remain. The victims of exploitation ask for such training in the school as will enable them to add to their earning power.⁴ They ask that the public school shall be a training school preparatory to entering the shop or the market as wage workers. The exploiters, on the other hand, demand that the public school shall be a training school for servants; the technical school must provide superintendents; the manual training school must provide more capable workmen; the public school generally, better clerks; the industrial schools better house servants and domestics, and at every point the school must exalt those who succeed and must sneer at those who fail, regardless of the fact that success may be the fruits of villainy and failure come because the bankrupt could not bring himself to be a thief. The student of education studying the laws of human life, striving to produce personal strength and personal character and to lay the foundation for a full and glad existence, represents the subordination and subjection of the school as preparatory to the despotism of the private shop and discovers, greatly to his disappointment, that just in proportion as his work is well done in the school the student is spoiled for the demands of the market.

560. Breaking With Ideals to Hold Employment.—

4. "Where the public school term in the United States is longest, there the average productive capacity of the citizen is greatest. This can hardly be a coincidence. When the man of science finds such a coincidence as this in his test tube or balance, he proclaims it as a scientific discovery proved by inductive science."—Butler: *Education in the United States*, Vol. 1; Introduction, p. 13.

A principal in one of the great public schools in Chicago, with many years of experience, stated to the writer that it was not an infrequent occurrence that young men and women, trained in the public schools, after securing employment in the shops or stores, return to their teachers for consolation and guidance, and that it was the universal testimony of these young people that they were able to make themselves useful to their employers only by the abandonment of the ideals which had been cherished in the schools. It is a principle in education that that which one learns to do without the conscious effort to do so, which naturally takes possession of one through contact with it, is the thing which is most effectively learned and which influences the life of the learner in the most marked degree. There is nothing more remarkable than the contrast between the effort of the school to ennoble and enrich the life of the people and the ruthless slaughter of their ideals in the shop and the market place. Between the exploited working people on the one hand, pleading for an opportunity to secure such training for their children as will make them more marketable, and the employer on the other hand, demanding such training as will multiply the number of those from whom he is to select the well-trained workers whom he shall choose to employ, the real educator finds himself practically without a hearing.

561. The Clash Between the Market and the Schools.

—President G. Stanley Hall, of Clark University, recently read a paper before the National Educational Association, at its meeting in Detroit, addressed to a special session of college presidents, in which he contended, in substance, that the business world has no place for the highest product of the worthiest schools. Col. Francis Parker, who was then living and present; Dr. Harris, National Commissioner of Education; Presi-

dent Harper, of the University of Chicago; President Hadley, of Yale, and President Eliot, of Harvard, all of whom were present, did not dispute the position which had been taken, and practically agreed with the comment of Col. Francis Parker, that the position taken by Dr. Hall was simply a statement of what all educators realized to be true. He further stated that this is a question which is easy to state, but for which he, at least, had been unable to satisfy himself with any answer he had been able to make as to a way out. These distinguished educators were unable to find a way out because, as long as capitalism remains the dominant factor in our modern life, there is no way out.

562. Training Masters and Servants.—Making a living is the absorbing business of most people; making a fortune is the equally absorbing problem of the few. These fortunes are made at the expense of those who are doomed to live lives devoted solely to toil in order that they may live at all. Between these two classes the few rich and the many poor, the relations of mastery and servitude must last as long as capitalism remains. And so long as the school is under the domination of masters and servants, so long as the business of life is either doing the work of a servant or exercising the authority of a master, so long the school must answer to these most dominant influences in society,—so long must the school produce masters and servants, or it must find itself out of touch with the established order of things.

563. Corrupting the Schools.—Among the things which exist in society which must challenge most strongly the attention of the children and the influence of which is felt throughout the schools, is the great power of wealth the great helplessness of poverty and the pitiless humiliation of the poor man's child. The inevitable discrimination against the poor as they ap-

proach the higher grades in the public schools,⁵ is not only pathetic, because of its cruelty, but it is most dangerous to public morals in consideration of the common knowledge that great wealth is so frequently associated with great rascality. It unavoidably exalts to the highest positions in the mind of the child, not those of the highest attainments, or of the worthiest character, not those who have best served society, not those who have attained to the ideals which the schools attempt to cherish,⁶ but instead those who have betrayed society, who have grossly abandoned the highest purposes and brutally robbed the helpless under the protection of law. These are object lessons which every child meets upon the playground, and every such act of contempt for poverty and of deference to wealth is acting powerfully to corrupt the childhood of the race.⁷

564. Falsifying Text Books.—But this is not all; the very text books are filled with examples which do not fix the attention of the learner on the real problems of real life, but instead on the calculations of the profits of the speculators, of the losses of unfortunate investments, of the gains of investors, as if investment for profit was a natural and necessary act and the relations

5. "Most systems of education seem designed exclusively for the sons of wealthy gentry, who are supposed to have nothing else to do in life but seek the highest culture in the most approved and fashionable ways."—Ward: *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. II., p. 629.

6. "The mark of a barbarian is not the language he speaks nor the deity he worships. It is his rude intellectual development, his narrow range of views, his rough treatment of others. Everything that distinguishes a savage from a civilized man can be directly or indirectly traced to the differences of education."—Ward: *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. II., p. 593.

7. The present enormous chasm between the ignorant and the intelligent, caused by the unequal distribution of knowledge, is the worst evil under which society labors.

"This is because it places it in the power of a small number, having no great natural capacity, and no natural right or title, to seek their happiness at the expense of a large number. The large number, deprived of the means of intelligence, though born with a capacity for it, are really compelled by the small number, through the exercise of a superior intelligence, to serve them without compensation."—Ward: *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. II., p. 602.

between gamblers and their victims on boards of trade the great relationships of life. The reading lessons glorify the subordination of servants, reflect upon labor organizations, and worst of all, plainly misstate the facts of American history. All these abuses are incidental to the existence of capitalism. They are instances of a direct effort to mislead and corrupt the youth in the name of education and in behalf of the masters.⁸

A United States history widely used in the public schools directly states that Socialism was tried at Jamestown, was proven a failure and abandoned because found to be impracticable. How false such a statement is does not need to be argued in this connection further than to say that what took place at Jamestown was the following:

When a group of adventurers from the idle classes of England were on the point of starvation, a military master required all to go to work or stop eating. The day's work required was a six-hour day, a fact deliberately suppressed in the school histories. In a single season with this short day, with workers not before accustomed to toil, the colony was saved from outright ruin. The temporary relief secured by this military organization of industry was not Socialism. There was no collectivism, no democracy nor equality. There was no triumph of the working class over their exploiters. There was no abolition of mastery and servitude. The instance has but little value except as showing that even the bosses will go to work rather than go hungry. The industrial development which makes Socialism

8. "The final result of exclusive reliance upon private benefactions for any phase or grade of education will be that the instruction provided will not only reflect the interests of a class, but will be confined to a class. This is no place to discuss the far-reaching consequences of such tendencies. To say they are not in harmony with the ideal of democratic civilization is to express but mildly a great truth."—Adams: Finance, pp. 71-2.

possible had not then taken place. There is not a United States history, so far as known to the writer, used in the American public schools which makes any allusion to the treason of Northern capitalists in attempting to throttle the government under the administration of Mr. Lincoln, at the beginning of the Civil War. They nowhere point out the economic causes which are fundamental in the study of any historical problem. These school histories simply glorify a series of political and military accidents intended to make the student the worshipper of commercial and military masters, while leaving them in ignorance of the real causes of the events discussed.

565. The Factory Child and the Public School.—Capitalism takes the children from the schools and turns them over to the factories before their bodies are sufficiently grown to endure the strain of the tasks which are given them and before it is possible that their minds should be sufficiently informed to make them worthy citizen,⁹ and then the politician, representing capitalism, disfranchises the men, grown from these very children, because illiterate. Capitalism robs the childhood of the country of the play time of its youth, or if the children secure access to the play ground, the long hours and the needlessly heavy burdens borne by the parents make it impossible for the parents, the natural playmates of the children, to have their play time together with their children. The parent is the natural playmate, the most natural instructor, the most natural companion for the child, but capitalism dooms the ordinary worker to such a life of toil that he

9. "To make the most of any individual's peculiar power, it is important to discover it early, and then train it continuously and assiduously. It is wonderful what apparently small personal gifts may become the means of conspicuous service or achievement, if only they get discovered, trained and applied."—Eliot: *Educational Reforms*, pp. 408-11.

is incompetent to be either the playmate or the teacher of his own child, and if he was, it so binds him to the workshop and the market place that there is no time for that most natural companionship of the study hour and the play spell between the parent and the child. There is no place where the school suffers more than for lack of co-operation between the home, on the one hand, and the active duties of life, on the other, with the school itself. But the school can now come in touch with the factory only by becoming the training school of slaves, and it can come in touch with the fireside only by admitting to the school house the breath of squalor and neglect forced into the workingman's home by the demands of industry, which makes a shop-worker of both wife and child and all too frequently a tramp of the natural bread-winner of the home.

566. Labor and Learning.—Any normal conception of education would extend educational activities throughout life. No one is too old for play—no one is too old to learn. There is no one who would not live better and wiser and gladder if there was time out of every day for study, for reflection, for original investigation along some line of careful and independent study. There is a limit to the amount of vital force possessed by the workers. There is every reason for believing that it is a part of the deliberate purpose of the capitalists to so engage in toil and to so exhaust by toil the average worker that he will be incapable of being a free and careful thinker as well as an effective worker.¹⁰

10. "Despotic governments have stunted men—made them thin-blooded, low-browed, all back-head and no forehead. * * * The largest wastes of any nation are through ignorance."—Hillis: *A Man's Value to Society*, Chapter I.

"The point at which knowledge will cease to make a man a better wage-earner may be soon reached; but the point at which it will cease to make him a better and a happier man will never be reached."—Creighton: *Thoughts on Education*, pp. 212-13.

"The last right which it seems necessary to notice here, is the

It is a pitiful thing to reflect upon, how the vast multitudes of the toilers throw down their tools at the end of the day's task too exhausted to think, even so exhausted that a rush to the nearest saloon is made for a stimulant to draw on the vital force which belongs to tomorrow's task, in order to endure the additional fatigue of returning to their homes.

567. So it is seen that capitalism corrupts the school. It forces the school to teaching a few things. It misleads and falsifies the things it teaches. It excludes many children from the school in order to use them in the shops, and draws the line at the beginning of productive industry for the vast multitudes of the workers against any further opportunity for study or for culture.¹¹

568. The Hired Boss and His Neglected Learning.—The wage worker is not the only one whom capitalism robs of the life-long opportunity for intellectual enjoyment. The hired boss or superintendent, the whole group of those who are the hired masters of the great industrial establishments, those who are held responsible for producing results, are given the stern alternative of being driven to the wall by competition in the effort to hold their positions or into nervous prostration, idiocy or insanity. Those immediately responsible for the employment of labor and for achieving in-

right of education. In this case the right and obligation are so closely united that it is scarcely possible to distinguish them. Everyone, we may say, has both the right and the obligation of being educated according to his capacity, since education is necessary for the realization of the rational self. This is a right which has been but tardily recognized, even in some highly civilized countries; and even now in many of them the highest kinds of education are practically inaccessible to the mass of the people."—Mackenzie: *Manual of Ethics*, p. 301.

11. "It is sufficient to mention Lord Bacon, Sir Isaac Newton, Alexander von Humboldt, Sir Charles Lyell, or Charles Darwin, in order to show that leisure is not, as is claimed, a detriment to aspiration. It shows, on the contrary, that the want of it is the great barrier to intellectual excellence; that poverty and monotonous toil crush out millions of potential luminaries in society."—Ward: *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. II., pp. 599-600.

dustrial success in competitive enterprises are growing old in their youth, their young heads are covered with gray hairs, their public duties are neglected, their social opportunities are forsaken, their appreciation of literature or the truths of science is pushed aside for the routine of their thankless tasks. They have dulled their artistic vision, they have starved their moral and mental faculties, they have slaughtered their worthiest aspirations, and all these they lay on mammon's altar for the place of a hired master and must continue to do so, so long as capitalism continues to exist.¹²

For these, too, the beginning of service is the end of mental growth, and must be as long as capitalism lasts.

569. Socialism and Education.—Now, Socialism will correct all this. There will be no motive for falsifying the books.

570. The Workshop and the School.—The work of the schools and productive industries of society will necessarily grow toward each other until the deep abyss which now exists between the two will utterly disappear. It is true that the school would become the training school for the workshop, but the workshop will cease to be a slaughter house and will become the center of the organized activities, wherein the workers, both free and glad, will produce together the things essential for a full glad life.

571. The Fireside and the School.—Under Socialism there will be no abyss between the fireside and the school house. The teacher will necessarily cease to be a young man or a young woman merely using the school house as a stepping stone to something else. Those who have no taste for teaching and who are there

12. "The more society is improved and education perfected, the more equality will prevail and liberty be extended."—Aristotle: *Politics*, V. III.

because they cannot earn as much somewhere else will disappear entirely from the school room. The long hours of leisure which co-operation will win for the workers will restore the parents to their children and the play hour to the home. The study hour of the fireside and the work of the school will so mingle with each other that it will be impossible to name the place where one ceases and the other begins.

572. The Ideals of the Schools and the Tasks of Real Life.—Under Socialism it will no longer be true that the ideals cherished in the schools must be abandoned in the doing of life's harder tasks, for whenever industry is so organized that no one will be able to exact the services of others, except those who will render services in return and, hence, so that no one shall be able to provide for himself in the most effective manner without at the same time he shall contribute to the welfare of all; when this is true, it will not need to be said again, as President Hall said in Detroit, that "there is no place in actual life for the choicest products of the worthiest schools."

573. Summary.—1. Capitalism converts the schools into training schools for training masters and slaves.

2. It takes the children from the schools for service in the shops.

3. It makes impossible life-long study for both the workers and their hired masters.

4. It falsifies and prostitutes the text books, enforces base ideals and so misleads the youth in the name of education.

5. Socialism will reverse all this. It will make an end of mastery and servitude. It will provide for all a life-long opportunity for study and all motives leading either the writers of text books or the teachers to misstate the facts of history or to betray the highest interests of society will cease to exist.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. What is education?
2. By what means did the old education seek to improve mankind?
3. How did the coming of capitalism affect education?
4. What is meant by "the new education"?
5. How are the master and the serving classes related to the schools?
6. How are the employments of the shop and market related to the schools?
7. Quote G. Stanley Hall.
8. What of the effect of commercialism on the life of the schools?
9. What of the school books and capitalism?
10. What of the Jamestown experiment?
11. What of child labor and illiteracy?
12. What of the relation of the school and the home?
13. What chance has a workingman for general study?
14. How will the coming of Socialism affect the problem of education?

CHAPTER XXXII

THE FARMER AND SOCIALISM

574. Untaken Land.—Karl Marx has spoken nowhere with greater clearness than in the thirty-third chapter of his “Capital,” when calling attention to the peculiar position of the farmers in North America and in the Colonies as compared with the farmers in the older European countries. He not only illustrates but clinches his argument with the famous Swan River experiment in Australia, where a quarter of a million of dollars’ worth of supplies in the shape of cattle, seeds and implements were sent to a new country, accompanied by three thousand emigrants and where, because of the untaken land, each man could work for himself and have the whole of his products. All refused to work as “hired hands” and the whole property was lost for lack of laborers.¹

575. America Before the Civil War.—For more than two hundred years a steady stream of immigrants

1. “First of all Wakefield discovered that in the Colonies, property in money, means of subsistence, machines and other means of production, does not as yet stamp a man as a capitalist if there be wanting the correlative—the wage worker, the other man who is compelled to sell himself of his own free will. He discovered that capital is not a thing, but a social relation between persons, established by the instrumentality of things. Mr. Peel, he means, took with him from England

came to America. They landed with but scanty resources. But their earnings for a short time as "hired hands" made possible a beginning of their own, on lands of their own, and, so, for all this time, the wages of labor made a nearer approach to the value of the products of labor than was possible in European countries. The immigrant who had been here but a short time, on becoming himself a self-employed farmer, made way in the labor market for the more recent arrivals. While the supply from abroad occasionally gave the Atlantic cities an over supply of wage workers, the outlet in the West was so constant that not until recent years (Marx says, not until after the Civil War) was the supply of labor so in excess of the demand as to bring to America the capitalistic situation as related to the supply of wage workers and together with it the rule of capitalism as related to land as a means of production.²

576. The Disappearing Wage Worker.—While land was cheap and plentiful, and the tools of agriculture

to Swan River, West Australia, means of subsistence and of production to the amount of £50,000 (\$250,000). Mr. Peel had the foresight to bring with him, besides, 3,000 persons of the working class, men, women and children. Once arrived at his destination, 'Mr. Peel was left without a servant to make his bed or fetch him water from the river.' Unhappy Mr. Peel, who provided for everything except the export of English modes of production to Swan River."—Karl Marx: *Capital*, pp. 791-792.

2. "Meanwhile the advance of capitalistic production in Europe, accompanied by increasing government pressure, has rendered Wakefield's recipe superfluous. On the one hand, the enormous and ceaseless stream of men, year after year driven upon America, leaves behind a stationary sediment in the east of the United States, the wave of immigration from Europe throwing men on the labor market there more rapidly than the wave of emigration westwards can wash them away. On the other hand, the American Civil War brought in its train a colossal national debt, and, with it, pressure of taxes, the rise of the vilest financial aristocracy, the squandering of a huge part of the public land on speculative companies for the exploitation of railways, mines, etc., in brief, the most rapid centralization of capital. The great republic has, therefore, ceased to be the promised land for emigrant laborers. Capitalistic production advances there with giant strides, even though the lowering of wages and the dependence of the wage worker are as yet far from being brought down to the normal European level."—Karl Marx: *Capital*, p. 799.

were simple and inexpensive, the wage workers who came to this country were constantly disappearing by becoming small farmers, that is, workers with sufficient property of their own to employ their own labor but with neither the capital nor with the surplus labor at hand to enable them to become the capitalistic exploiters of the labor of others. Their property was the result of their own industry and saving and was used for their own employment and support. This was in strong contrast to the capitalist system where capital is the accumulation by the few of the products of the many, with the many wholly dependent on the few for the opportunity to create a living.

577. Independent Self-Support.—These free self-employing farmers not only produced their own food, but for more than a hundred and fifty years they were practically the only manufacturers as well.³ They produced on their own farms their own clothing, boots, shoes, furniture and fuel, built their own houses, and with rude tools and scant returns lived their own free life.⁴ That is, they did, without equipment and without organization, exactly what Socialism demands they shall have an opportunity to do again, become their own employers and have for their own reward the total product of their own labor, but with the added oppor-

3. "The first threshing machine was not invented till 1786; the cast-iron wheeled plow, the drill, the potato digger, the reaper and binder, the hay-raker, the corn-cutter, are not fifty years old. The Massachusetts farmer who witnessed the revolution plowed his land with the wooden 'bull plow,' sowed his grain broadcast, and, when it was ripe, cut it with a scythe, and threshed it on his barn floor with a flail. His house was without paint; his floors were without carpet. When darkness came on his light was derived from a few candles of home manufacture. The place of furnaces and stoves was supplied by huge cavernous fireplaces which took up one side of the room, and, sending half the smoke into the apartment, sent half the heat up the chimney."—McMaster: *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. I., p. 18.

4. "In a paper, called 'Cause of and Cure for Hard Times,' published in 1787, an honest old farmer is made to say: 'At this time my farm gave me and my whole family a good living on the produce of it, and left me, one year with another, one hundred and fifty silver dollars, for

tunity of the free use of the best equipment, and most perfect organization, not only in the production of crops from the soil, but in the whole round of human activity.

578. The Self-Employed.—It is not disputed that for most of this time feudalism ruled on the Hudson, and chattel slavery ruled in the South, but it is insisted that neither were in the line of the real American advance, and both were broken to pieces not only because neither was as profitable for the capitalist as the wage system, but for the added reason that the self-employing farmers revolted against the oppression of slavery, with even greater fierceness than capitalism did against its economic losses. It was the sons of the self-employing farmers in the East, who, seeking for new homes for themselves in the West, fought the battles for free soil as against the southern planter, and for free homesteads as against the northern land grabber, and who at the same time waged the war as fiercely in one direction as they did in the other.

579. No Inheritance of Dependence.—The American farmers do not have the inheritance of a thousand years of helpless dependence after the manner of the European peasants. They have the record of the mastery of the land of their nativity for over two hundred years, for it was they who conquered the wilderness, established civilization, fought the French and Indian wars, and achieved the national independence of this country, and then afterward controlled its affairs for more than half a century. The city has arisen and the farmer has been shorn of his power in politics. The

I never spent more than ten dollars a year, which was for salt, nails and the like. Nothing to wear, eat or drink was purchased, as my farm provided all.' American Museum, January 1787, Connecticut Courant, August 18, 1788. Had this case been an uncommon one, the force and value of the paper would have been lost."—McMaster: Vol I., foot note, p. 19.

factory has come and household manufacturing has disappeared and the farmer is made dependent for the larger share of his living on what he can sell into the market of his raw product in order that he may again buy out of the market the things of his use, and he is even more unable to control the market, either when he sells or when he buys, than is the skilled workman of the city when he sells his labor or buys his bread.

580. Under the Yoke.—Capitalism has now taken the farmer as well as the carpenter or the iron moulder, and has set him to work under the pressure of the iron law of wages, and while his wages are paid in a different way and his dependence is enforced in a different manner, he is as helpless as the wage worker. He is the victim of the same exploitation. He is given a bare subsistence for his long hours of toil and capital takes the rest of his products and under capitalism he has no way of escape.

581. Loss of Independence.—The self-employing independence of the American farmer has been taken away from him in four ways; (1) by the occupation of the land, (2) by the development of machinery, (3) by the separation of manufacturing production from the farmer's household, and (4) by the specialization of certain lines of agricultural enterprise and their organization by corporations on a large scale and completely under the factory methods of production.

582. Occupation of New Land.—1. The private occupation of available public lands is practically complete. The recent settlement of Oklahoma shows how the surplus labor of the country would seek for self-employment on the land had it any longer the opportunity to do so. The surplus labor cannot any longer find an outlet on new land and so capitalism, not only in the shop but on the land also, can proceed to rob the laborer according to its spirit and its habit, because the

public land being gone, the surplus worker has no other choice than to stand and deliver, or to tramp and starve.

583. Machinery.—2. The development of machinery makes the amount of capital necessary to enable one to produce to the best advantage so large that, even were the land provided, the additional equipment for effective production requires an outlay beyond the possible earnings of a wage worker. An ox-team, a few chickens and a cow is no longer an outfit for a farmer, any more than a spinning wheel is an outfit for a cotton factory. With both the land and the machinery controlled by the capitalist, the toolless and landless worker has no outlet on the farm, except it be by long years of exhausting toil and through measureless privation to which no one ought to submit, since there is no economic necessity for either the long toil or the extreme privation.

584. The Narrowing Process.—3. But more serious than either of these is the equipment and organization of mining, manufacturing, transportation and storage, entirely separate from the farmer, and in every instance beyond his control. He cannot live without the use of these great instruments of industry and commerce. He cannot get his products into the market nor his living out of the market without their use. The capitalists control these things and they fix the terms on which the farmer is permitted to exist. They fix the price of what he sells and they fix the price of what he buys, and in spite of his ownership of his land and his farming implements, they fix his income, and in real capitalistic fashion they fix it on the basis of a bare existence for the farmer along with all the other workers.

585. Specialization in Farming.—4. The separation of purely manufacturing undertakings from the

farm narrowed the farmer's employment to the production of raw materials for the manufacture of food and clothes, but the specialization of certain lines of agricultural enterprises has taken from the self-employed farmers large portions of their work even as the producers of raw materials used in the production of food and clothes. The raising of cattle and sheep, together with wool-growing, the butter and cheese business, the stock yards and packing house enterprises, are largely in the hands of corporations. The growing and manufacture of sugar, the producing and marketing of fruit, the raising of beans, cabbages and pickles, to some extent the production of wheat, and all the great preserving processes, are more and more becoming great corporation affairs.

As fast as the factory system—that is, ample capital, a single centralized management and thoroughly scientific methods—can specialize and improve and so economize in the processes of producing any article of farm produce that its production can be made cheaper with the work of a single worker as a part of the organization than is the cost of feeding the farmer's family along with himself, just so fast the corporation organizes the business, employs the single worker in the organization, makes no provision for the worker's family and narrows the range of the farmer's undertakings. President G. Stanley Hall is the authority for the statement that the New England farmer of fifty years ago did the work which since then has been specialized into not fewer than sixty trades, and this process of specialization still continues.

586. The Small Farm.—It is claimed that small farms, cultivated by single-handed workers and their families, will always pay better than large ones, and diversified farming better than "wool growing," "market gardening," "wheat raising," "cattle ranch-

ing," "bean farming," "fruit raising," "the milk business," "dairying," or any other single specialty in farming. The answer to this is two-fold. (1) This same thing has been said continuously throughout all the years during which spinning, weaving, tanning, shoe making, fuel production, preserving, fruit growing, dairying and cattle raising have been coming under the form of the factory system, and still the process of specialization, capitalization and organization, with the self-employed small farmer left out of the organization and deprived of its benefits, goes on continuously. East such step has made the "independent farmer" more and more dependent on the corporations created by and managed under modern capitalism.

587. Salaried Superintendents.—2. If it be disputed that the factory system is entering largely into the field of agriculture and with the same results as in manufacturing, a sufficient reason for thinking so is found in the fact that just as students in the schools of technology are picked up for superintendents in factories, as fast as they graduate, so the students in agricultural colleges are taken even faster than they are able to graduate, as superintendents of capitalistic enterprises in agriculture, dairying or in fruit growing companies, and in these enterprises they are given salaries from two to five times the average earnings of the self-employed farmer.

588. Why Half a Farm.—If it be said that the farms are growing smaller on the average, and that therefore the corporation farm does not threaten the self-employed farmer, along with the self-employed store-keeper, or manufacturer, the answer is that both the small shop and the small store grow smaller as they disappear. As the department store advances the small store does not tend to get larger, but it is com-

pelled to get smaller in the process of its extinction. That farms are getting smaller on the average is ably disputed as a matter of fact, but whatever the truth may be, it is not essential to our argument. If the average acreage of the farm is less, it is because the mortgaged farm is divided in order that the farmer may sacrifice a part of it rather than lose it all. If the old homesteads are being divided among the children, it is because there is no other outlet for the farmers' sons. It is not because a half a farm is more desirable for each of two children than would be a whole one. It is because it has come to a point where neither the city shop nor the western lands can provide for surplus population. It is because half a farm is better than no farm at all. It is not because the factory system of limitless capital, cheap labor and scientific management will not work in agriculture. It is because the average farmer's boy cannot take advantage of these and is obliged to forego the most economic methods of production and to work on with poor equipment, within narrow fields and with unscientific methods or to have no means at all whereby he may save his life.

589. Millionaire Ranchmen.—It should be borne in mind that there are all grades of farmers, from the millionaire ranchman to the farm hand. The farm hand is completely a wage worker, and the millionaire ranchman is completely a capitalist. Just as the small manufacturer and the small store keeper are doomed by the great factory and the department store, and can have no interest in common with them, so the self-employed farmer is utterly without any interest in common with corporation millionaires, who are already masters in the sheep, wool and cattle industries, and are continually entering every other field of agricultural enterprise.

590. Surrender for Lack of Outlet.—If rude tools

and single-handed industry remain in use on the small farms it is not because good tools are not desirable. It is because human life is so cheap on these small farms in the presence of increasing populations and with no outlet elsewhere. Make decent industrial opportunities for all and the conditions of farm labor will necessarily be made as good, with rewards as great, and with hours of toil as short, and with life's social opportunities as desirable, as are those of any other calling, or the farm work will not be done. But the farm work must be done. The food supply of the world depends upon it. Very well, then, if decent industrial conditions were provided for all by the co-operative organization of the great manufacturing, mining, transportation and storage industries, with equal opportunity for all to be employed in these industries, then the conditions of farm labor would necessarily have to be so improved that the advantages of the man who works closest to the soil would be the equal of those enjoyed by any other workers, and this would be equally true whether agriculture was carried on co-operatively or as individual enterprises, provided equal access to the soil with equal equipment for its use are guaranteed to all.

591. The Surplus Farmer's Boy.—If there was an outlet on new land the farmer's surplus boy would not divide the old farm. If there was an outlet in some other calling he would not be a farmer at all. He would not submit to the long hours of toil, to the constant separation from the society of his fellows, to the loneliness and isolation of his wife and children, in their separation from social and educational opportunities, had he any better choice than the cheerless and over-crowded tenement which is now a poor man's lot if he leaves the farm.

592. "Middle Class" Farmers.—The defenders of

capitalism are fond of pointing to the Census Report and to the fact that the value of farm property in the United States exceeds twenty billion dollars as evidence that there is a "great middle class that can have no interest in Socialism." To this the reply is that the matter of greatest concern to the wage worker is the fact that he cannot escape exploitation. Socialism will put an end to exploitation. Then Socialism is of the most vital concern to all victims of exploitation. Therefore, if a great majority of the people who are usually considered in "the middle class" are found to be, nevertheless, victims of exploitation, then it is clear that they have interests which will be best served by the coming of Socialism.

593. The Exploited Farmer.—Is the farmer exploited? The following facts, taken from the "Abstract of the Twelfth Census, 1900," issued from the United States Census Office, shows that an unqualified statement that one is the owner of a farm does not alone determine whether he is an exploiter or the victim of exploitation. The total value of farm property was \$20,439,901,164 (p. 217), while the total value of the farm product, not fed to live stock, was \$3,764,177,706. Deduct from this \$54,783,757, which was paid for fertilizers (p. 236), divide the remainder by 10,381,765 workers engaged in farming industry (p. 24), and you have \$357 to the individual employed. From this \$357 must be further deducted interest on mortgages, taxes, cost of repairing machinery, etc. [which amount is not stated], in order to find the average annual returns for the labor of an individual employed in the farming industry.

594. Worse Than Cotton Factories.—The value of the product of 3,375,862 of these farms averages less than \$250. This number is equal to 58.8 per cent of all the farms in this country (p. 222). The value of the

product of 1,378,539 of the better farms, i. e., 24 per cent of the total number of farms, averages about \$750. From this must be deducted the amount paid for hired help, interest on mortgages, taxes and repair of machinery in order to find the net income of the farmer of this class. This shows that on the average the 24 per cent of the total number of farmers are exploited to as great an extent as the iron and steel worker whose wages average \$584 per year (pp. 322-323) while the 58.8 per cent, the farmers of the poorer class, are exploited on the average to a greater extent than the cotton factory workers, where so many helpless women and children are employed for the poorest wages paid in any of the manufacturing industries.⁵ There remains 14.5 per cent of the farmers with an average product of \$1,750 and 2.7 per cent of the farmers have a product of over \$2,500.

There are 2,014,316 tenants and 4,410,877 farm hands most of whom must find a place on these last two classes of farms. These tenants and farm hands can have no interest in perpetuating exploitation. It will give an idea as to how numerous these tenants and farm hands are and how large a proportion of the whole population is so employed and so exploited by remembering that together they exceed by 169,525 the total popular vote of the Democratic party in the United States in 1900. That this vast army of farm workers are the victims of capitalistic exploitation no one denies.

595. Bankers Not Farmers.—But it must be remembered that ownership of a farm that does not yield

5. It is interesting to notice that the southern manufacturers reply to the complaint against the employment of children in the southern factories by calling attention to the fact that these children are better cared for in the factories than they had before been cared for on the farms. To this no answer can be made by those who object to child labor in the factories, but ignore its existence on the farms.

enough product to support two families does not enable the owner to rent it to another and live himself as an exploiter. There are many bankers and business men who own and rent farms that yield only a few hundred dollars' worth of products, but they are able to do this not because of their ownership of the average farm but because of their ownership of many such farms or of other things in no way a part of the farm. So the argument that 82.8 per cent of the farms do not enable their owners to become exploiters or to escape exploitation still holds good, while the 2,014,316 tenants and 4,410,877 wage earners, in addition to the exploited owners of the average farm, make it certain that at least 90 per cent of all those engaged in farming are victims of exploitation to as great an extent as the wage workers in other industries. The bankers and business men who own farms and rent them cannot be classed with the farmers any more than the members of a railroad corporation who exploit the farmer in another way. The Census Reports do not count these bankers and business men as farmers and they are not included in the above.

596. The Largest Group of the Working Class.— If 90 per cent of the 10,381,765 workers engaged in agricultural employments are victims of exploitation that will make a total number of 9,343,589 such victims. The total vote for all candidates for the presidency, scattering votes and all, in 1900, was 13,983,610. If the number of exploited farm workers be compared with this total vote it will be found that it exceeds two-thirds of the whole vote by 21,183. It equals about one-half of all the whole number of productive workers in the United States and is a majority of more than a million over the whole number of full-grown male workers engaged in all other industries. Whatever these workers own does not deliver them from exploi-

tation. Nothing but Socialism can ever effect their deliverance.

597. The Agricultural Working Class.—The ownership of property which is not used for the purposes of exploitation does not make a man a capitalist. It is inconceivable that under Socialism the general average of property held for private use will not vastly exceed anything that does or can exist under capitalism. The ownership of property, the income from which in rent, interest or profit does not amount to a sufficient sum to enable its possessor to live without labor, still leaves such a person in the working class, subject to exploitation and dependent on the coming of Socialism as the only certain means for his deliverance.

598. A Bare Existence.—Capitalism in the shop and store and on the farm alike, leaves for most men but a bare existence and appropriates for itself the bulk of labor's products, securing for the capitalists an income which they can neither use nor waste. By the specialization and organization of industry under capitalism the means of producing the means of life are no longer in the hands of any of the workers. This is as true of the farmer as of any of the other workers. He is as dependent on a railroad as he is on a self-binder. He is as dependent on a cotton factory as he is on a cotton field or a herd of sheep. He is as dependent on a sugar refinery as he is on his garden. He is as dependent on the market as he is on his farm. The means of transportation, manufacture and return to him of the means of his own existence are as far beyond his control as they are with the carpenter who owns his kit of tools and yet lives solely by the consent of capitalism.

599. Public Ownership.—Capitalism cannot deliver the farmer from exploitation, nor can any possible re-

form, made under capitalism, do so. Public ownership of railroads simply leaves the coal, the machinery and the steel mills and ore mines in private hands, and the capitalist still able to manipulate business and despoil the workers. If all the related industries are to go with the roads, and all to be controlled by the workers, and in their own behalf, that would fix it, but that would include all important industries and that is Socialism.

600. Public Loans.—Public loans on the storage of grain would help the farmer to hold his crop for a later market, would help all the farmers to do so. If this advanced the price to the farmer, the capitalist would still fix the price of what the farmer buys and what he would save in the one case he would lose in the other. If the public would provide the means for producing what the farmer buys and would store that, as well as what the farmer produces, and would give all hands a chance at the goods for the cost of production, that would not only secure for the farmer the full value of the product of his own labor, but it would give him access to the products of others on a basis which would increase his purchasing power in the market more than would be true of any other class of workers. At the same time it would give the manufacturing workingman the same advantage and increase his purchasing power in the same manner, if not to the same degree. But that is Socialism.

601. Farmer and Capitalist.—The ordinary farmer is not a capitalist. He is a workingman. Whatever he owns he owns in order that he may employ himself. When he employs others, it is only in order to use his own labor to a better advantage. His farm is not his in order to exploit others, but in order to employ himself. He has no interests in common with the capitalist. His own and his children's future depends on the over-

throw of capitalism. The only alternate to capitalism is Socialism.

602. Socialism and the Farmer.—What would Socialism do for the American farmer?

It would provide at once an outlet for surplus population. It could inaugurate agriculture on the new and arid lands [now worthless] by vast systems of improvements, and give to every idle worker, not the vacant land, but employment with the completest equipment and the most perfect organization, and to all of the workers would belong all of the products. The surplus farmer's boy and the idle carpenter, instead of dividing the old farm or competing with a fellow laborer for the chance to live, would be given the best of all possible chances to provide for themselves.

Socialism would make possible the storage of the water at the sources of all the rivers of the Mississippi valley and its distribution and use when needed on the very lands on which the floods and drouths now spoil so large a share of their productive possibilities. Besides, in those vast enterprises the great tracts of unused alluvial lands of the Mississippi bottoms could be brought under the most scientific cultivation, and the machinery of agricultural production perfected on the largest scale, and so again, by the enormous increase of production on such a scale, further multiply the productivity of labor. All of this enormous gain would fall to the workers only. By this increase of productivity, the working day could be greatly shortened, while the product would at the same time be greatly increased. During the busy season the farm workers could be reinforced from other sources, and during the dull season the man on the land could be otherwise employed, so that instead of the overwork of the busy season and the idleness of many for the

non-productive months, there would be all the year employment for all the workers.⁶

Rapid transit and ample leisure for all the workers would make possible numerous centers of population, and instead of the lonely isolation of the usual farm house, they would put within easy reach of the workers on the land every social and educational opportunity which could be provided for anybody or anywhere.

603. The Farmer's Family.—What the farmers will do with Socialism ought not to be a hard question to answer so long as the question, how to keep the boys on the farms, remains unanswered.

The ordinary farmer's boy has hopes beyond the boundaries of the farm home of his childhood. Whatever may be said to him about the joys of country life, he sees the farmers around him worn and bent with toil. He sees his mother old before her time, and he can see no future for himself and the woman who is to be his wife but to repeat the toilsome tasks of those who gave him his existence.

Socialism alone can solve the problem of the farmer's boy. It alone can provide for him the manly life of labor and leisure for which he longs.

The farmer's daughter depends on Socialism as her only sure way for entry into the gladder and larger social life which lies beyond the farm house.

If she escapes from the farm now, it is to become a servant in the office, shop or kitchen of some stranger, and so exchange her independent isolation on the farm for association in the midst of humiliating dependence.

604. Enlarging Life and Restoring Liberty.—The value of the average products of all the workers in manufacturing, mining and transportation greatly exceeds that of the workers on the land. Formerly all these things were done by the farmers themselves in

6. In discussing the order of advance under the socialization of industries the "Communist Manifesto" suggests:

"Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the population over the country."

the old rude way of doing them. But capitalism has separated them from the farmer, vastly increased their productivity and excluded the farmer from the benefits of the improvements. Socialism would again make the farmer a sharer in these and in the whole industrial life of the world.

There will be no occasion for attacking the small farm on the inauguration of Socialism. The collective industry could not afford to touch such properties until the great and unused tracts of arid and bottom lands should first be used, and long before such enterprises could be completed, the small farmer could not be kept at his isolated and unprofitable task, so great would be the rewards awaiting him in the collective industry. But should the small farm still give the best returns there is no reason why the farm work of the world may not still be done on small farms, only the fear of foreclosure or eviction or the dependence of the farm tenant and the farm hand will be forever over, as well as the power of the railways, the factories and the storehouses to corner the farmer's products and rob him of the value of the services he has rendered.

605. The Way Out.—Forty per cent of the voting population is on the farm. Ninety per cent of these farmers, as the smallest possible estimate, have nothing to lose but their isolation and their poverty by the coming of Socialism, and they, too, as well as the wage slaves of the manufacturing towns, have a world to gain.

The farmers had a more influential part in making the institutions of this country than any other class of workers. They have been and are the most independent in political action, and they are by force of habit and by the experience of all those now living in the western and central western states, accustomed to adventure and are determined not to be directly or indirectly the slaves of capitalism in any form. But the farmers can never rule this country again, except in alliance with

the working men of the factories, mines, storehouses and transportation lines.

The working men of the towns, in a party by themselves, will not be able to out-vote the country districts for many years. But the workers of the towns and of the country are alike ready and over-ripe for Socialism. When they unite to secure Socialism, Socialism will come on that same hour.

606. Summary.—1. The American farmers have at last come under the control of capitalism.

2. Under capitalism the farmer must work for a bare existence the same as other workers.

3. His ownership of a portion of the means of production, in the shape of land and implements, does not deliver him from exploitation, because he depends as fully on the means of production in manufacture and on the means of distribution, as do the wage workers. and neither in the means of manufacture nor in the means of distribution has he any ownership.

4. Public ownership of a part of the means of manufacture and distribution will not deliver him from exploitation, so long as any share of the means of production in manufacture or the means of distribution on which he must depend are privately owned, because such a partial public ownership will only shift the place where he is robbed, not stop the robbery.

5. No real relief can be secured for the farmer by any reform in the medium of exchange, or in the method by which he secures the use of money in order to exchange his own products for manufactured articles, so long as the things he buys are privately controlled, through the private ownership of the means of manufacture and distribution.

6. The great economies of the use of the great machines, the special skill resulting from the minute divisions of labor, the opportunity to be productively employed, all the year round, and the opportunity to secure what he cannot produce, at what it costs in labor to produce it, can never be obtained by the farmer

under capitalism, but will at once be realized under Socialism.

7. The income of farm and factory workers can be greatly increased, and the working day for both greatly shortened under Socialism. There is no great or lasting improvement for either under capitalism.

8. Under Socialism farmers and their families will have even better social and educational opportunities than are now provided for the most fortunate. Neither their sons nor daughters will be obliged to abandon the associations of childhood and become the hired servants of anyone in order to make a beginning in the world.

9. The farmers who are manual laborers, together with the wage workers of the towns, are, together, the overwhelming majority of the people. Socialism is the only platform which shows a way of deliverance both for self-employed farmers and wage workers, and hence, on which they can all unite, and united no power can withstand them.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Show the reason why farmers in new countries have been able to escape from the control of capitalism.

2. What share has the American farmer had in the development and government of this country?

3. Show how the private occupancy of the public land has helped to bring the farmer under the control of capitalism.

4. Show the same thing with regard to the development of machinery and with regard to the separation of mining and manufacturing from the farmer.

5. Why will not public ownership of the railroads deliver the farmers from exploitation?

6. Why will not the public storage and public loans deliver the farmer from exploitation?

7. How far must public ownership be extended in order to deliver the farmer from exploitation? Who else would then be benefited?

8. How would Socialism provide for the farmer's sons and daughters?

9. How would it affect his hours of labor, and his social and educational opportunities? Why?

10. Would Socialism begin with an attack on the small farms? Why not? If the small farmer should give up his farm under Socialism, why would he do it?

11. Is it likely that the farmers will ever be able to control the country again, without the aid of the manufacturing wage workers?

12. Can either secure economic independence without the other?

13. Why is Socialism the only platform on which all the workers, including the farmers, can be united?

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE MIDDLE CLASS AND SOCIALISM

607. The Middle Class.—The term “middle class” applies in ordinary literature to the class of manufacturers and business men developed in the growth of modern industry between the aristocracy on the one hand and the wage workers on the other. Cromwell was the political representative of this class in his time; Cobden, Bright and Gladstone were representatives of the same class. The continental term for this middle class is the “*bourgeoisie*.” This term is derived from the term “burghers,” meaning townsmen of mediaeval times. “Burgh,” which is a part of the names of so many American towns, as “Pittsburgh,” is from this same source.

The term “bourgeois” came finally to mean the employing manufacturers and traders of the towns as distinguished from working men of the towns who were without the means of self-employment, as well as from the military masters, soldiers and peasants in and about the castles. In English literature the same class is spoken of as the “commoners.”

In America, there being no aristocracy, society is properly divided into two classes only—the class which in England is called the “commoners,” and on the Con-

continent the "bourgeoisie," in America is represented by employing manufacturers and business men. The small business men, or the small shop men on the continent are spoken of as the "petty bourgeois." In America, in ordinary discussion, the term middle class has come to apply to the "petty bourgeois," that is, to the small manufacturer and the small business man. The small farmer has come also to be included in the middle class in American discussions.

608. The Subject Stated.—The subject, then, for this chapter, is the consideration of these small business men, small manufacturers and small property holders of all sorts in relation to the Socialist movement in this country. It must be remembered, to begin with, that most men will be governed, in the long run and as a general principle, by what they conceive to be their economic interests. It has been seen that these economic interests have so far determined all of the great conflicts in the history of the race. It must be borne in mind that the class struggle is directly between the business man's interest and the working man's interest; that is, it is a struggle resulting from a conflict of interests. If the share of the products which falls to the workers is to be increased, then the share which goes for rent, interest and profit must be decreased. If the share which goes for rent, interest and profit shall be increased, then the share which falls to the laborer must be correspondingly decreased. Each party to this conflict is all the time endeavoring to enlarge its own share. This is the war of interests which is always going on under capitalism.

These mutually antagonistic interests naturally bring into antagonistic relations the parties whose interests are thus found to be in conflict. There is no question as to where the interests of wage workers fall in this struggle. There is no question as to where

the capitalist, that is, the man who holds in private ownership the means of production, and uses these privately owned means of production for the purposes of exploitation—there is no question as to where the interests of this man fall, and so far as he understands his interests, there is no question as to where he will be most likely to be found in the conflict.

609. Numbers of the Various Classes.—It has been seen in the previous chapter that ninety per cent of those engaged in agricultural employments are the victims of exploitation. While twenty billions and more are invested in farm property, only the smallest number of farms, not more than 17.2 per cent of them all, are the means of exploitation. All the workers on this 17.2 per cent of the farms and all the people, both the owners who are also workers and the workers who are not owners on all the other farms, are victims of exploitation. It is not an easy matter to fix the lines marking the boundaries of the middle class from the large capitalists. If the 14.5 per cent of the farmers with an average product of \$1,750 per year be classed as the middle class and the 2.7 per cent which, according to the same authority claims to produce a yearly product valued at more than \$2,500 per year, be classed as capitalists, and then the same proportion is admitted to hold good in all other callings, the boundaries will probably be admitted to be substantially correct.¹ This would leave the working class composed of 82.8 per cent of all the people, which is certainly under rather than over the number of those who earn their living by rendering service rather than by appropriating the products of others.

The subject of this chapter is the discussion of the relations of this small group of only 14.5 per cent of

1. Abstract, The Twelfth Census, p. 233.

the population to the economic and political conflict between the 82.8 per cent on the one hand and the 2.7 per cent on the other.

The consideration of this group is of very much greater importance than the small number which belong to it would seem to indicate. Only 2.7 per cent of the population have been mentioned as belonging, without qualification, to the capitalist class, but their power must not be measured by their numbers. This small percentage of the people control all the great avenues of trade, all the great instruments of production, all of the necessary processes of exchange, and not only have they been able thus far to maintain their position as the economic masters of the market, but also as the political leaders of the remainder of the people. The struggle for political mastery in this country in recent years has been between the people represented by the 2.7 per cent and the 14.5 per cent of the population. The 82.8 per cent have been and are still without political representation in the councils of the nation.

610. Economic Classes and Political Parties.—It is not accurate to say that the Republican party represents the 2.7 per cent and the Democratic party the 14.5 per cent, as has been frequently claimed. Warfare between the little business man and the big one, which has been going on in the market, has appeared as frequently in the councils of the Republican party as in those of the Democratic party, and in neither party has the American middle class been able to secure any such possession of political power as to secure for themselves the political mastery of national affairs at any time in recent years. Still, the political leadership in the middle class, whether Democratic or Republican, just as in the case of the millionaire politicians, acting as the political leaders of 82.8 per cent of the people that is, of the working class, has been uniformly an

effort to secure the votes of the working class, not for the purpose of serving the economic interests of the working class, but for the purpose of serving the economic interests of the middle class, or of the millionaire capitalists, as the case might be.

611. Socialists and the Working Class.—The Socialist movement is an effort to protect the working class from further middle class domination in this economic and political warfare. The Socialist movement is simply an effort to create a political party devoted to the championship of the economic interests of the 82.8 per cent of all the people; that is, of the working class as against all others. The Socialist movement is an effort to create a political party which shall represent in politics the economic interests of these exploited workers rather than the economic interests of any share of the exploiters—great exploiters and small exploiters being alike the object of attack. The Socialist movement is an effort to secure the organization and triumph of a political party which, because it will represent in politics the economic interests of the exploited only, will, when coming to power, have no share of its constituency economically interested in betraying the purposes which the party is created to accomplish.

612. Middle Class Measures.—All political controversies between the millionaire capitalist and the American middle class capitalist have been carried on, not over an effort to abolish capitalism, but to so control public affairs as to force the use of public authority either in behalf of the economic interests of the smaller capitalist or in behalf of the economic interests of the larger capitalist. These controversies are simply conflicts between groups within the same class, the capitalist class, to the total neglect of the exploited working class. The political controversy between the working class and the capitalist class is not one for

reforming, remodeling, improving, capturing or using the political power in order to remodel and improve capitalism. It is for the more revolutionary purpose of utterly and absolutely putting capitalism out of existence.

613. Only Two Parties Possible.—The question then, as to the relation of the middle class to the Socialist party is at bottom the question of the relation of the Socialist party to middle class measures; that is, to measures for reforming capitalism for the benefit of a group of small exploiters rather than for the abolition of capitalism. The conflict between the working class and the capitalist class is so desperate, so determined, so fundamental, and must be so all-absorbing that in the final encounter there can remain no standing ground for any third party in American politics. The capitalists, reinforced by such workers as they can mislead,² through the workers' ignorance of their own class interests, must constitute one party, and the working men who, comprehending the nature of their own economic interest, and understanding how relentless is their political power if they will only use it in their own behalf, must constitute the other party; and between these two there can remain no middle ground on which can be organized the forces for the third side of a triangular fight. All conflicts between big capitalism and little capitalism will disappear in the midst of the warfare between the friends and foes of capitalism. The middle class man will be unable to propose any middle class measures around which he can rally any political following of sufficient numbers to secure political power for any program which will attempt to

2. "The 'dangerous class,' the social scum, that passively rotten mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue."—Marx and Engels: *Communist Manifesto*, p. 29.

antagonize the big capitalist on the one hand and the revolutionary working man on the other.

614. Economic Interests Both Ways.—The middle class man, then, the small manufacturer, the small merchant and the small farmer, must simply take sides, one way or the other, between the exploiter and the exploited. Which way will he go? Bear in mind that we have assumed that he would go in the direction of his economic interests, and remember, if he moves in the line of his economic interests, it must be as between the workingman on the one hand and the millionaire on the other. There remains and there can remain no other alternative. The small merchant, small manufacturer and small farmer have economic interests in both directions, but they can have dominant interests only one way. In proportion as they are producers, by the service of either mind or hand, they are victims of exploitation. In proportion as their income is derived from the fruits of the labor of others their economic interests are with the millionaire. Here is a farmer with forty acres of land employing a "hired hand" occasionally to assist him in his farm work; a manufacturer with \$3,000 invested employing a journeyman worker to assist him in his processes of production; a barber, who not only works at a chair himself, but employs an assistant; a miner, who, having "struck pay dirt," is employing another to assist him in bringing it to the surface. Now, in all these cases, the men are themselves producers, and so far as they are producers, they are, together with all other workers, the victims of exploitation; but they are also exploiters, and add, or at least attempt to add, to their income by wearing out the lives of others.

615. Acting with the Capitalists.—Which line of their own conflicting interests will these men follow in the battle between Socialism and capitalism? Sup-

pose they decide to follow their economic interests as business men, and hence, to identify themselves with the millionaire capitalists, as the small business men are doing, throughout the country, in joining the Manufacturers' Associations, Employers' Leagues and Protective Unions. What will be the probable outcome of such an alliance for the small business man? Either the whole philosophy of economic evolution, of industrial development, must fall to the ground, or there remains for the small business man nothing but destruction at the hands of the large capitalists. In choosing between the Socialist and the capitalist, he is not choosing between the saving or the destroying of his small business. His small business is doomed under capitalism, and he himself is doomed under capitalism, sooner or later, to fall into the ranks of the dependent and helpless wage workers, begging the millionaire for an opportunity to be employed.

616. Acting with the Working Classes.—On the other hand, suppose he considers his interests as a worker. Is there any way by which he can deliver himself from the exploitation of which he himself is now a victim? Is there any way by which he can protect himself from ultimately falling into the dependent, wage-working class. He certainly cannot do so under capitalism. There are no laws which can be enacted; there are no enterprises which can be undertaken; there are no political combinations which can be effected with other workers which can deliver the little business man from exploitation while he continues to work in his own shop, or can guard him from the coming humiliation of seeking an opportunity to live at the hands of the very persons who will have destroyed his own business. If he decides with capitalism, he decides in favor of continuing to be exploited as long as he remains his own employer; and he must further decide to doom both

himself and his children after him to economic dependence upon the very forces which are destroying his self-employing industry. His only deliverance from continued exploitation as a producer, and from ultimate dependence upon his own destroyers, must come from the destruction of capitalism and the inauguration of the co-operative commonwealth. If he can secure the coming of Socialism soon enough he may be able to pass directly from self-employment in his own small business to self-employment in the co-operative commonwealth. If the members of his middle class would abandon all middle class measures and fight directly for the industrial emancipation of all workers, including themselves along with the rest, they could save themselves both from the exploitation which must last as long as their self-employment lasts and finally from the dependent relations of personal mastery and servitude which awaits them on the destruction of their self-employing enterprises.³

617. Small Properties.—Until recently the defenders of capitalism have asked with great assurance how Socialism could ever be inaugurated, because the owners of small shops and small farms would never consent to being dispossessed of their property by the inauguration of Socialism. This is no longer a difficult question. The trusts are either absorbing the small properties, or what is worse for the small property-holder, leaving the title in the hands of the owner, but rendering the property valueless in his hands. The Socialist does not propose to take the property away

3. "The lower strata of the middle class—the small trades-people, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which modern industry is carried, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialized skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population."—Marx and Engels: *Communist Manifesto*, pp. 24-25.

from the self-employed, and so rob him of the opportunity of self-employment, in order to inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth. Self-employment is the very thing for which the Socialists are contending. The trusts are robbing all the people, either of their small holdings, or, indirectly, of the values of their small holdings.

618. Exploitation at the Shop Door.—It is claimed that exploitation takes place at the shop door, and can take place nowhere else, and therefore it is inferred that those who do not work in shops can in no way be interested in the problem of exploitation. Exploitation does take place at the shop door; it does take place in the processes of production, but production is never complete until the article is delivered, not only in the form, but at the time and place of its final consumption. Therefore, if we are to understand that exploitation takes place only at the shop door, the door of the shop must be placed so close to the door of the consumer that no value shall be added by any added service to any given article after leaving the shop of the producer and before entering the home of the consumer. Take an illustration: for instance, a box of oranges is sold and delivered to a consumer in Chicago for five dollars. The delivery boy is a wage-worker, is the victim of exploitation; but what is taken out of his service is included in the five dollars. The bookkeeper for the house which made the delivery is a wage-worker, the victim of exploitation, but what is taken from her products is a part of the five dollars. The truck which hauled the oranges from the freight house is driven by a teamster who is working for wages, the victim of exploitation, but the sum taken from his earnings by his employer is a part of the five dollars. The freight agent, the brakeman, the conductor, the telegrapher—all along the line of shipment, the men who are engaged in repairing the track, or assisting in any way in bringing the oranges from California to Chicago, are all vic-

tims of exploitation. They are working for wages, they get only a share of the values they create, but the share they create and get and the share they create and do not get, are both included in the five dollars. The man who gathered the oranges, the man who cultivated the field, the man who planted and guarded the trees, the man who made the box, the man who made the lumber out of which the box was made, the lumberman who brought down the logs from the forest out of which the lumber was made, all are victims of exploitation. All were working for wages, or if not for wages directly under the eye of a master, they are nevertheless dependent upon some share of the same five dollars for the reward of their labor. If they produce more than they get, both what they get and what they produce but do not get, so far as related to this transaction, are included in this five dollars. The shop door at which exploitation takes place is not alone in Southern California; it is not alone at the freight office either at that end of the transportation line or in Chicago; it is not alone at the fruit store. All who had any share in growing, transporting and finally in delivering the oranges to the last purchaser, who bought them, not to sell again but to consume them, so far as they helped in the process, were producers. So far as they did not help but took advantage of the private ownership of any share of the means of growing, transporting or delivering the oranges for the purpose of compelling the workers to create values which they could not keep, but which the private owners appropriated, all these are exploiters, and production and exploitation took place all along the line. The shop door at which exploitation takes place is found at every place where the worker is separated from any share of the values which his toil creates.

Possibly the teamster owns the team; possibly the

orange grower owns the patch of land, possibly the fruit dealer owns the store, but they all work long hours with small returns, and the values which they create are taken from them under the monopolies and wastes of modern capitalism.

The millionaire who owns the road and who charges for carrying the oranges "all that the traffic will bear," may be the chief exploiter of them all; but whatever share of the final results go for rent, interest or profit, that share is taken away from the workers, and it is taken away from them in spite of themselves and under conditions in which they have no choice but to submit. And this is as true of the truckman who owned his team as of the delivery boy who rode in another man's wagon and drove another man's horse.

How many of the workers from the orchard grower to the delivery boy can be relied upon in the fight for Socialism? Is there any deliverance for any one of them under capitalism? Is there any way out for any one of them except Socialism?

619. The Millionaire.—The millionaires who control the transportation lines, the freight depots, and the cold storage establishments may be conceded to be opposed to Socialism, but there are many reasons why millionaires ought to be Socialists. The certain destruction of the business interests of a part of them by the business triumphs of the others; the great uncertainty as to their own business future; the greater uncertainty as to the future of their children, as compared with the widest opportunities for living the completest human life, which will be guaranteed to all under the co-operative commonwealth, ought to appeal strongly even to the millionaires. But it must be remembered that their economic interests, as millionaires, are strictly opposed to Socialism, and further that it is directly against these interests that Socialism

directs its attacks, and hence only such millionaires can be interested in Socialism as have other interests, as men, which to them are of more importance than their own careers as exploiters of other men. No millionaire will become a Socialist because of his economic interests as a millionaire.

620. Emptiness of the Master's Life.—Such millionaires may be said to be the victims of capitalism in a sense in which the victims of exploitation are not. No one can know the emptiness and narrowness of a life whose sphere of activity makes impossible the comradeship, the fullness and gladness of normal human existence more than the millionaire who has been able to take the time and has had the ability to become disgusted with the brutal game of trade. Such a man may well turn to Socialism as the only means of escaping from the limitations of a life which can be measured by dollars and of securing admission, at last, into the fellowship of rational human existence.⁴ But the Socialist party is not likely to get so much building material from this source as to call for any serious departure from the building plans and specifications adopted with the understanding that the So-

4. "Undoubtedly there are bourgeois who from a feeling of justice and humanity place themselves upon the side of the laborers and Socialists, but these are only the exceptions; the mass of the bourgeoisie has class consciousness, a consciousness of being the ruling and exploiting class. Indeed, the mass of the bourgeoisie, just because they are a ruling class, have a much sharper and stronger class consciousness than the proletariat."—Liebknecht: *No Compromise*, p. 56.

"Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole." Marx and Engels: *Communist Manifesto*, p. 28.

"The great number and variety of mutually related groups within the state considered as a whole is called society in contrast with the

cialist movement is primarily in behalf of the working class and solely and only in behalf of men as working men.

621. The Riddle of the Middle Class.—But the middle class men who are both traders and producers, who are both exploiters and victims of exploitation, these men have economic interests both with the exploiters and with the exploited. They can not follow their economic interests in both directions. They must elect to go one way or the other. As a class they are poorly informed in economic principles, deeply moved by their prejudices, insanely ambitious to be counted business men and so to be ranked with the class of the exploiters. All of these considerations would lead them to do as the great majority of them are doing; that is, act with the Manufacturers' Associations and Employers' Leagues in their attacks upon the workers, and hence, in opposition to Socialism. All such middle class men are electing to follow such economic interests as they have in common with the millionaire. They are lining up with the other capitalists in the economic class struggle against the workers and against their own economic interests as workers. But it is also true that many wage workers are affected by their prejudices and are influenced by their masters to act, both in the economic field and in the political field directly against their own economic interests, and the wage workers do so with no economic interests whatever in common with their masters. Of the 14.5 per

state. In this wider sense, society is not different from the state; it is the same thing viewed from another standpoint. But in a narrower and more accurate sense of the word each group centering about some one or more common interests is a society. This double meaning often leads to confusion, which is made worse because social groups are not always separated by a hard and fast line. They overlap and intertwine so that the same men are bound to one group by one set of interests, and to another group by another set."—Gumplowicz: *Outlines of Sociology*, p. 138.

cent of the population which falls to the middle class in the classification adopted above, only the smallest percentage of them gain as much by being exploiters as they are losing by being exploited, and hence only the smallest share of this 14.5 per cent of the people would side with the millionaires if, after informing themselves as to the economic possibilities of Socialism, they would follow their own most important economic interests.

629.—The Sifting of the Wheat.—The Socialist makes his appeal only to the victims of exploitation and has absolutely nothing to offer in the shape of economic advantage, to the middle class, or any other class, which can in any way protect their interests as exploiters. There is no possible way by which the members of the middle class can secure protection at the hands of the great capitalists, who are not only unable to protect and perpetuate this middle class, but instead are actively engaged, not only in the destruction of this middle class, but even in the mutual destruction of their own gigantic enterprises. (See Chapter X)

The defenders of capitalism will call to their aid as many of the working class as they can mislead. They will win to their support in the political field as many of the middle class, while they proceed to destroy them in the economic field, as they will be able to keep in ignorance of their own economic interests as workers, —that is, they will control them through their ignorance and prejudice after the same manner as they will secure the support of many wage workers who have no economic interests whatever in common with their masters.

Socialism can make no appeal to any one or to any class except to those who are the victims of exploitation and whose interests, as victims of the ex-

plotters, are greater than any possible advantage which can come to them as the fruits of exploitation. Socialism makes its appeal, then, to working class interests only; it declares war on all exploiters, great and small, and depends for its support alone upon that vast majority of the whole population who are the producers of all wealth.

623. A Call to the Workers Only.—Socialists then, may ask for the support of millionaires, but if they do they cannot do so on the ground that it is the purpose of Socialism to protect or enlarge the exploiting operations of the millionaires. A millionaire may be appealed to as one “in sympathy with the working class,” but in doing so, it must be borne in mind that no economic interest can exist, on his part, as the basis of his sympathy with these workers in the political field so long as he continues to be an exploiter in the economic field.

Socialism may make its appeal to men who are both exploiters and the victims of exploitation, but their appeal must be to them solely and only as the victims of exploitation, unless the economic basis of the argument is to be abandoned and the appeal be made to “those in sympathy with the working class,” rather than to those of the working class, and hence, whose greatest economic interest is at one with the working class.

But the whole theory of economic determinism, as seen in Chapters II and III, shows the ineffectiveness of any appeal to other than dominant economic interests in any great controversy involving the economic interests of great numbers of people as the very subject concerning which these great numbers are in dispute. Therefore, the watchword of the Socialist propaganda and the guiding principle of the Socialist organization must be an appeal to working class interests and to

these interests alone; and hence, and of necessity, to all people whose working class interests can be shown to be of more serious concern to them than any economic advantage which they may enjoy under capitalism. But this would include among those whose working class interests are of greater importance than any other interests, ninety per cent of the farmers, including all of the farm tenants and farm hands, and the overwhelming majority of all the manufacturers and merchants with small capital and who work long hours in carrying on their enterprises. If these men do not act with the Socialists it will be because of their ignorance and prejudice—not because of their conflicting economic interests. They are workers whose economic interests as workers are of infinitely more importance than any economic interests they can possibly have as capitalists.

624. Summary.—1. In American economic discussions the self-employed working people, who are engaged in small farming, manufacturing and commercial enterprises, are spoken of as “the middle class.”

2. As capitalism approaches its culmination it destroys this middle class.

3. As the Socialist movement advances the middle class men must take sides either with those who are altogether exploiters or with those who are altogether the victims of exploitation.

4. The overwhelming majority of the self-employed working people, the American middle class, receive only the smallest share of their income from either rent, interest or profit. They find their greatest economic losses from exploitation and can find their deliverance only through the coming of Socialism.

5. Unless misled by ignorance or prejudice, just as the wage workers might be misled as to the real nature of their own economic interests, these economic

interests will bring many of these middle class people to the Socialist party, and that solely because of their working class relations, not because they are "in sympathy with the working class," but because they belong to the working class.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. What is the origin of the term "middle class"?
2. Give the English and European equivalents for this term.
3. Do we have in America the same three economic classes as in Europe?
4. What people in America have come to be called the middle class?
5. What percentage of the people fairly belong to each of the three classes, the great exploiters, the self-employed who also employ others, and the wage workers, in the United States?
6. What relation do the economic interests of these classes bear to the current political parties?
7. What relation does the Socialist party bear to the economic interests of all these classes?
8. Why can there be only two parties in the final encounter between capitalism and Socialism?
9. Show how and why the middle class has economic interests in common with both the other classes.
10. What will come to the middle class should they act with the capitalists?
11. What if they act with the Socialists?
12. Explain how exploitation takes place at the shop door.
13. Will Socialism extend and protect the economic interests of either millionaires or middle class men as exploiters?
14. Are there any reasons of any sort why millionaires should be Socialists?
15. Are there any economic reasons why millionaires should be Socialists?
16. Are there any economic reasons why middle class men should be Socialists?
17. Are middle class men likely to follow their economic interests as working men? Why? Are wage workers misled for the same reasons?
18. To what people and to what interests may the Socialists appeal for support?

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE TRUST, IMPERIALISM AND SOCIALISM

625. The Evolution of the Trust.—In the tenth chapter of this volume the trust has been discussed as related to the evolution of capitalism. It is not necessary in this place to repeat the substance of that chapter. However, it should be read again in connection with this further consideration of the trust as a current political problem.

626. The Problem and the Solutions Proposed.—It is admitted by all students that the trust presents a series of economic and political difficulties of the most serious importance.

What shall be done with the trust? The following measures have been proposed: (1) Publicity, (2) government control, (3) limitation of the size of single industrial organizations, (4) putting trust-controlled articles on the free list, and (5) let the nation own the trusts.

627. Publicity.—1. As to publicity: It is everywhere known and bitterly complained of, that the trust is taking advantage of their vast industrial, commercial and political power to monopolize all the means for producing the means of life for all of the people, and to prevent the use of these means of production except

they be used by those who become the servants of the trust, and then only on such terms as the trust shall name. To hold that the misfortunes of the people incident to the growth of the trust can be removed by a special effort to make more public the nature of these misfortunes is as absurd as to propose to cure a fatal disease by preparing charts for the instruction of the patient that he may more fully know how hopelessly fatal is the nature of his malady.

628. Government Control.—2. As to government control: The fact is that those most interested in the trusts are also the ones most powerful in the control of the government. As long as the trust controls the government it must be true that government control of the trust is simply the trust controlling itself. If government control of the trust is to be anything more than a farce the first step to be taken must be to deliver the government from control by the trust. This cannot be done by dividing the country politically along the line of the great trust on the one hand and the small business interests on the other. The working class must decide this question, and the small business interests cannot show the working man where any advantage is to come to him by overthrowing the king of the trusts only to fall into the smaller, more petty, more insecure and more irregular employments at the hands of a thousand petty and competing masters. The only way the trust can be driven from the control of the government is by offering to the whole body of the working people for their own advantage all of the advantages of the great equipments, perfect organization and scientific management which have been made possible so largely by the development of the trust. This will never be done by any proposal of government control of the great enterprises in behalf of the smaller ones.

629. Limiting Industrial Organization.—3. As to

limiting the size of single industrial organizations: This would simply mean that a millionaire would then be a stockholder in each of many companies, all of which he would control and all of which he would manage with the same results to the rest of society as have come with the single trust. It might make book-keeping more troublesome, but it would not affect the results.¹ And then, again, the administration of the laws proposed would still be in the hands of the same people against whom it is proposed that they shall be enacted.² If the government is to come under the control of those really opposed to the trust the only class large enough to enforce such a change is the working class. The co-operation of the working class in a conflict with the trust cannot be secured except the economic advantages which the trust makes possible shall be given to the working class themselves, but limiting

1. "Permit me in this connection to show the futility of legislation made against the natural laws of trade or business by some historical precedents.

"I maintain that all laws that have been made to prevent combinations of labor, to prevent combinations of manufacturers, to prevent combinations in produce or bread-stuffs, or to prevent what I may in a word call the free and unlimited exercise of commercial relations, or speculation in cereals or stocks, have been ineffectual and abortive, every one of them, and I challenge any one to point out to me in English or American history any statutes which have been passed to prevent these combinations that have proved effective. And the simple reason is, that the laws of trade, the natural laws of commercial relations, defy human legislation; and that is all there is in it. Wherever the two clash, the statute law must go down before the operations of those natural laws. I could begin back as far as the reign of the Edwards in English history, and trace the statutes that have been passed against combinations of labor, against the combinations of the owners of produce, combinations of purchasers or of dealers in bread-stuffs, and I can show you that in every instance these laws have been abortive. Whoever has the desire can find plenty of these instances in history."—Dos Passos: *Commercial Trusts*, pp. 71-72.

"To 'smash the trusts,' even if practicable, which may be doubted, would deprive society of mighty possibilities for good. The evils of industrial evolution are never solved by going backward."—Edward W. Bemis, quoted by Nettleton: *Trusts or Competition*, p. 153.

2. "Society has practically abandoned—and from the very necessity of the case has got to abandon, unless it proposes to war against progress and civilization—the prohibition of industrial concentrations and combinations."—Wells: *Recent Economic Changes*, p. 74.

the size of the single industrial organizations will not give the economic advantages of the trust to the working class.

630. The Tariff and the Trust.—4. As to putting trust-controlled articles on the free list: It has been seen, in the tenth chapter, that the trust is already an international organization in many lines of trade, and is rapidly becoming international in all lines of trade, and, with the great manufacturing establishments of so-called competing countries once owned by the same international trust, that then international competition is at an end. For with the trust controlling the markets on both sides of the tariff line it will fix the prices for all countries, regardless of the tariff. No relief from the trust can come from reducing the tariff on any articles of any sort controlled by an international trust, and the international trust is already a serious factor in international trade.³

631. National Collective Ownership.—5. As to the national ownership of the trust: The nation can own the trust just as soon as the working people take control of the nation. It can be brought about in no other way. When that happens the working people will be able not only to dispossess the masters of the trusts from their control of the government, but from their possession, monopoly and management of the great industries by virtue of whose existence the people live.

632. The Motive for Action.—President Hadley of

"Anti-trust acts have been so systematically evaded that they have degenerated into a means of blackmail; and they have often been so injudiciously drawn that their enforcement would have paralyzed the industry of the community."—Hadley: *Education of an American Citizen*, p. 23.

3. "But, on the other hand, as has been before said, it must be perfectly evident that the removal of the tariff would not destroy in this country an industrial combination without first destroying its surviving rivals—while it might also very readily be in many cases the one incentive needed toward bringing about a world-wide combination against which tariffs could not avail."—Jenks: *The Trust Problem*, pp. 221-22.

Yale University, says: "Most people object to trusts. Why?⁴ Largely because they do not own them." President Hadley is right. Let all the people own the trusts and the trust problem is solved for all time. This proposal alone is in line with industrial development. This proposal alone finds a rational place and service for the trust in the order of the development of industry. This proposal alone can bring to its support people, sufficient in numbers, who are so distinctly members of another economic class than the class to which the members of the trust belong, that they can out-vote the trust and in so doing transfer the power of the government to the control of an economic class, the members of which will not be interested in defeating the public will as related to the trust. Such a political party would at once appropriate for the free and equal use of all the people all the economic advantages of the equipment and organization of the trust. Such a political party could and would do this in spite of the political power of those now in the trust. The working class is the only class whose members are without personal interest in the private ownership of the trust and whose political power is great enough to destroy the political power of the trust.

633. Completing the Social Revolution.—The misfortunes which follow in the wake of the trust cannot be remedied by the act of the government for the relief of any share of the people. Relief can come to none except it be secured for all. The co-operation of the working class, in capturing the powers of the government in order that these powers may be used to control, tax, reform, or in any way seriously interfere with the work of the trust, cannot be secured for any program which will not deliver into the hands of the

4. Hadley: Education of an American Citizen, p. 25.

working class and for their own use and benefit both the powers of the government and the productive possibilities of the trust. But if this were done, then both the industrial and political powers would pass from the handful of masters and be established at last in the hands of all the people. And when that happens the social revolution will be complete, for that is Socialism.

634. A Resistless Current.—Our modern industrial and political life is moving on in a current which has come down to us through a hundred centuries. Its movement has been continuous, the current is unbroken and it is resistless. The issue is inevitable. Here is the order of its advance:

635. Universal War.—It has been seen how, during the barbarian tribal wars, the tribes trespassed on each other's territory because of the inevitable process of growth; how strangers were enemies; how the universal inter-tribal trespass caused universal inter-tribal wars; and how no such tribe, no matter how peacefully it was inclined, could refuse to go to war, and at the same time maintain its own existence.

It has been seen in the same way how, under feudalism, as the feudal estates grew they were compelled to grow at each other's expense; and how this situation again led to war as universal as was the system of feudalism itself; how no single prince or lord could have avoided war; how the only terms on which any one of them could live at all, was either as the enemy or as the ally of some other lord. The same is true of the industry and commerce of today. One must fight the combination or combine, and there is no other alternative.⁵

636. One World Military Power.—The ancient tribal wars once undertaken, could never stop without

5. "The day is past when the automatic action of self-interest could be trusted to regulate prices, or when a few simple principles

self-destruction until all tribes were brought either into alliance or into subjection. It was this situation itself which made the ancient world-powers inevitable. The final culmination of all in Rome was not the fault of Rome. Under the conditions of that stage of the world's growth and having the strength she had, Rome could only choose between conquering and being conquered.

637. The Family of Nations.—The modern nations of the world were reproduced from the fragments of the ancient Roman territory by the same process. They came into being through feudal development, conflict and conquest, which has stopped short of creating a single political world-power only by compromise, by establishing the "concert of powers," by maintaining what is called a "balance of power" among the "family of nations," by organizing a political trust for the express and avowed purpose of preventing any one of the powers from becoming the political master of any or of all the rest. And yet this very "concert of powers" is in effect the establishment of a one world-power, though in the form of subjection to a combination of masters rather than to a single master.

638. One World Commercial Power.—While the governments have been balancing their extent of territory and strength of armies, and defending by treaties each other's political existence, the industrial world has outgrown both the political and the military power as the dominant factor in the world life. The soldier

of commercial law, if properly applied, secured the exercise of justice in matters of trade. The growth of large industries and of large fortunes enables those who use them rightly to do the public much better service than was possible in ages previous. It also permits those who use them wrongly to render the public correspondingly greater injury. No system of legislation is likely to meet this difficulty."—President Hadley (Yale): *The Education of an American Citizen*, p. 4.

no longer commands the service of the trader nor disposes of the world's merchandise as he may choose. Industry and commerce rule the world. The soldier gives no orders to the counting room. He gets his orders from the counting room and delivers the spoils of war into the possession of the counting room.⁶

Between the competing manufacturing trusts of the earth, no "concert of powers" has yet arisen. If it should arise, it could only affect the form of the final trust, not the fact of its final existence. As these great trusts which control the industry of millions of people and master the resources of whole continents come into conflict with each other, the old rule of alliance or subjugation is inevitable. The process of commercial conflict and expansion once undertaken, there

6. "These great businesses—banking, broking, bill discounting, loan floating, company promoting—form the central ganglion of international capitalism. * * * No great, quick direction of capital is possible save by their consent and through their agency. Does any one seriously suppose that a great war could be undertaken by any European state, or a great state loan subscribed, if the house of Rothschild and its connections set their face against it?

"Every great political act involving a new flow of capital or a large fluctuation in the value of existing investments must receive the sanction and practical aid of this little group of financial kings. These men, holding their realized wealth and their business capital, as they must, chiefly in stocks and bonds, have a double stake, first as investors, but secondly and chiefly as financial dealers. As investors, their political influence does not differ essentially from that of the smaller investors, except that they usually possess a practical control of the businesses in which they invest. As speculators or financial dealers, they constitute, however, the gravest single factor in the economics of Imperialism.

"To create new public debts, to float new companies, and to cause constant, considerable fluctuations of values are three conditions of their profitable business. Each condition carries them into politics, and throws them on the side of Imperialism.

"The public financial arrangements for the Philippine war put several millions of dollars into the pockets of Mr. Pierpont Morgan and his friends; the China-Japan war, which saddled the Celestial Empire for the first time with a public debt, and the indemnity which she will pay to her European invaders in connection with the recent conflict, bring grist to the financial mills in Europe; every railway or mining concession wrung from some reluctant foreign potentate means profitable business in raising capital and floating companies."—Hobson: *Imperialism*, pp. 63-65.

can be no stopping place until a commercial imperialism as wide as the world shall be established.

639. Military and Commercial Imperialism.—The ancient Roman imperialism captured and ruled and robbed the world by force of arms, and trade was only an incident to the business of war. Modern commercial imperialism is capturing the world in order to rule and rob the world by trade. The force of arms is only an incident to this warfare of commerce, and no industry will be able to avoid it. All must struggle for existence, if they are to exist at all; and in the end none will be able to survive except in subjection to that combination which shall finally become the master of all. Having become the master of all, then that commercialism which is essentially military in its character, which came into the world through war, will have at last captured and equipped the world.

640. Industrial Democracy.—Then a world-wide peace and industry more marvelously productive than sage ever dreamed or prophet foretold may come to all lands and to all the races of mankind.

This is what capitalism will offer the world as its share in the growth of the race in the hour of its own collapse. And then collapse it must, for then the prosperity of any part of the race, as the result of its conquest of any other part of the race, will be no longer possible.

Then capitalism must yield to a higher form of industrial organization, or the race itself, together with the greatest achievements of the race, must collapse together with the collapse of capitalism.

This will be the culmination of long centuries of growth. It will be the lasting solution of the problem of the trust, and there is no other. But this is Socialism.

641. Summary.—1. For the discussion of the trust

as related to the evolution of capitalism see Chapter X.

2. That the trust presents serious economic and political problems is everywhere admitted.

3. Neither publicity, government control, limitation of the size of industrial organizations nor putting trust-controlled articles on the free list reaches the sources of the misfortunes associated with the trust.

4. The trust is owned and controlled by an economic class, the exploiters. The same class controls the government.

5. National collective ownership of the organization and equipment of the trust with the national government under the control of the exploited class would transfer both the ownership and the control of the trust, together with all of its benefits, directly into the hands of all the useful people. But that is Socialism.

6. The trust is the culmination of an age-long process of development. The same forces which have created the trust must carry the movement forward to the collective ownership of the trust, or the race must largely lose the fruits of the long centuries of growth which have culminated in the trust.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Give an account of the evolution of the trust. (Chapter X).
2. What proposals have been made as a means of solving the economic and political problems presented by the trust?
3. What of publicity?
4. What of government control?
5. What of limiting the size of industrial organizations?
6. What of the collective national ownership of the trusts?
7. Why is the control of the government by the victims of exploitation necessary to the solution of the trust problem?
8. Give an account of the military, political and commercial developments which have produced the trust.
9. Contrast military and commercial imperialism.
10. Why is Socialism a final settlement of the trust problem?

CHAPTER XXXV.

LABOR UNIONS AND SOCIALISM

642. Mediaeval Towns.—We have traced the story of the mediaeval towns (Chapter VIII), and have noticed how they were held in contempt by the feudal lords, and how they were recognized and given charters by the kings. The towns had been occupied in the earlier period of feudalism only by those who were helpless; they were without influence, were unsanitary, and, in every way, in conditions of great neglect.

643. The Guilds.—It was in these towns that the ancient trade guilds were formed. At first they were simply groups of kinsmen, without formal organization and existing as a sort of family affair, created solely for social purposes. It would seem that, being left out of the life of the castles, these groups were either a survival from, or a reversion to, the earlier social forms of barbarism or savagery, for under both savagery and barbarism kinship was the basis of all social, economic and political organization. Anyway, beginning with informal groups of kinsmen, they gradually advanced to more formal social organizations. They attempted to provide for the common welfare, for their members when ill, to provide religious cere-

monies and entertainments for the living, and to bury their dead.¹

In the efforts of these workers to provide for each other their organizations became industrial as well as social. The towns being in disfavor with their local lords, these guilds made application to the kings of the realm, from whom, it has been seen, they obtained charters, and were so placed under the protection of the general government. They were given authority to govern themselves, and so became civic and military, as well as industrial and commercial organizations. The whole guild was responsible for the civil conduct of all its members. If any member offended, the guild was answerable to the general government, and the offender was answerable to his guild.

They organized along all lines of trade, built and fortified industrial towns, which were governed as industrial democracies. These towns were the foundations of the free cities, and made the beginnings for nearly all of the leading cities of modern Europe.

In the organization of industry by these guilds long apprenticeships were required. On becoming an employer, each master was permitted to employ only a limited number of journeymen and apprentices.² All sorts of ordinances were established by the guilds, which so limited and controlled the production of wealth that when modern trade was made possible, by the extension of the conditions of peace, and the modern military life was centralized by the invention of gunpowder, and so together created a demand for goods which exceeded the power of the guilds to supply, a new method of production supplanted the guild organizations.³

1. Howell: *Trade Unionism—New and Old*, Chapter I.

2. Howell: *Trade Unionism—New and Old*, Chapter II.; and Greene: *History of the English People*, pp. 213-220.

3. Howell: *Trade Unionism—New and Old*, Chapter III.; and Smith: *Wealth of Nations*, Book II., Chapter III.

644. The Wage System.—The peddlers, who had done an uncertain business under the preceding conditions of disorder, being unable to secure goods in sufficient quantities for the new market from the guild manufacturers, became manufacturers themselves, and thus made the beginning of the factory system. The laborers under this new system of production were not able to engage in self-employing labor like the members of the builds, nor were they any longer able to secure a livelihood as serfs about the castles. They were runaway serfs, or serfs who had been evicted from the feudal estates, and were entirely without either the chances of the serfs in the country or the opportunities of the free self-employing laborers of the towns. They found themselves without any opportunity of earning a living, except as they became employes in these new factories, and as has been already seen, in this helpless condition they bid against each other for an opportunity to be employed. This was the beginning of the wage system.

645. Labor Organizations.—These homeless and helpless workers were not long in making efforts to organize. Their first efforts to do so were modeled after the old guilds,⁴ but there was no such opportunity for them to make a beginning then as had been afforded the old guilds at the time of their beginning under the conditions of disorder, and especially by the protracted quarrels between the feudal lords and the kings, and which secured for the old guilds the protection of the kings as against the lords. The members of the old guilds, the proprietors of the new factories, the interests of the general government, as well as both the prejudices and interests of the feudal lords, all conspired against the possibility of these helpless workers achieving for themselves anything like the inde-

4. Howell: *Trades Unionism—New and Old*, pp. 29-34.

pendent self-support which had been achieved by the older guilds. They were forbidden by law to organize, and for some four hundred years it was a crime to be a member of a working man's organization.⁵ It was during these years of struggle, while the workers were excluded from the land, while they were utterly without support, except as they lived as hired men, while they were disfranchised and so without any voice in the affairs of the state, while their organizations were outlawed, and whoever plead their cause was denounced as a demagogue and hanged as a traitor, that those organizations which have grown into the modern labor unions were brought into existence.

646. Great Service of the Unions.—There is no question that these labor organizations have rendered great service to the cause of labor. The right to organize has been secured by them, the right of free speech, of public discussion of the interests of the workers by the workers themselves, the right to vote and so be a factor in the general government, and the right to strike are victories which have been secured more largely by labor organizations than by all other forces together, for the right to do these things under the protection of the law has been secured only by the action of those who organized, spoke and struck in defiance of the law.

647. London Working Men.—When the English peasants, in revolt under Wat Tyler, reached London, the workers within the city, more than forty thousand strong, welcomed their coming, and the workingmen were masters until assassination and betrayal, the favorite weapons of their masters, accomplished their overthrow.⁶

648. Fall of the Bastile.—When in France the final

5. Howell: *Trades Unionism—New and Old*, pp. 16, 38 and 45.

6. Greene: *History of the English People*, pp. 266-269.

battle of feudalism was to be fought out in her great revolution, the secret organizations among the workers did the work which, in the hour of trial, destroyed the Bastille, and with it closed the story of a thousand years of one style of aristocratic torture. After the fall of the Bastille, and until Napoleon's artillery had swept the streets of Paris, there was not an hour when the vitality of the movement for liberty, which force finally crowded into a capitalistic republic, was not found in the strength of the disinherited and fearless workers.⁷

649. American Revolution.—It was the working men's organizations of Boston which supported Samuel Adams.⁸ It was the working men's organizations of Philadelphia which supported Benjamin Franklin. It was the working men and farmers who made up the army of Washington. It was the business interests which opposed the Revolution, and which afterwards established a government for the protection of private property regardless of the general welfare, notwithstanding the constitutional preamble declaring the purpose of the same government to be "to provide for the general welfare."

650. In the Civil War.—When the Civil War broke out, from the industrial centers whole regiments of soldiers were formed from the Labor Unions and from the Turners' Societies. It was the working men of the North who defended the Union, while capitalists were conspiring to rob it through fraudulent army contracts and to compel the creation of a public debt which

7. Carlyle: French Revolution, Vol. I., Book V., Chapter VI.; and Vol. III., Book VII., Chapter VII.

8. As an indication of the important part the workingmen's organizations had in the early political life of this country, it should be noticed that the word "caucus" is derived from the word "calkers." The "calkers" were the most important body of workingmen in Boston in the time of the American Revolution. Their trades meetings were so occupied with political matters that a primary political meeting has taken its name from them.

would enable them to continue their plunder of the toilers forever.

650. Story of the Class Struggle.—The class struggle began with the prehistoric tribal wars, and can end only when the laborers can be delivered from the inheritance of industrial disaster handed down to them from the fortunes of barbarian warfare. This class struggle was shown in the servile rebellions, when slavery had been made the status of the working man. This class struggle was shown in peasant wars, when serfdom had been made the status of the working man. This class struggle was shown in the Labor Unions and the strikes, when the wage system had been fastened on the toiler, when he had been robbed of any opportunity to use the resources of the earth in his own right, had been refused the right to live without a master and had not been guaranteed even the right to have a master. The class struggle is shown now in the struggle for Socialism, which is no new thing in the world. It is the same old warfare, at last informed as to the nature of the rights of the toilers and equipped with the power of the ballot in the struggle to secure these rights.⁹

9. "There were probably not more than 120,000 men who had the right to vote out of all the 4,000,000 inhabitants enumerated at the first census (1790)."—Woodrow Wilson: *History of the American People*, Vol. III., p. 120.

"The United States, in 1789, when its constitution was adopted, was a limited democracy. So, too, were the commonwealths. They continued limited democracies for one generation, but the United States for two. The limitation was of the franchise. Jefferson theorized that a man should vote because he is a man. The conservative party administered the franchise as the privilege of men who, by long residence, if they were not to the manner born, by religious belief, and by the possession of property, could be intrusted with so valuable a perquisite.
* * * *

"In the eighteenth century, those who questioned the justice of these qualifications were classed as the anarchists are classed now. * * *

"By 1820, the struggle for the franchise was the chief issue before the country. In that year the political reformers in Massachusetts, led by Levi Lincoln, sought to change the basis of representation in the senate of that commonwealth from property to persons. Very distinguished were the men who in the Massachusetts constitutional conven-

A study of Labor Unionism as related to Socialism, reveals the fact that both are incidents in this historic class struggle. Socialism is not a new fight in behalf of the workers, it is the same old class struggle adapted to new conditions. The plans of Labor Unionism and the plans of Socialism differ only as the plans of

tion of that year opposed that innovation. Most venerable in years and in service among them was John Adams, the author of the constitution which they were called to amend. He asserted that the great object of government is to make property secure, and quoted freely from classic history to show that 'by destroying the balance between property and numbers, and in consequence, a torrent of popular emotion broke in and desolated Athens.' Therefore, to change the basis of representation in Massachusetts would cause a like desolation in that commonwealth. In these opinions President Adams was supported by Justice Story, but by none so ably or so successfully as by Webster, who spoke at length on 'property the basis of government.'

"So satisfactory was this speech to Webster, both in its ideas and its form, that a week after its delivery he incorporated it almost unchanged in his Plymouth oration.

"The world has long been familiar with this classic.

"Some leading passages seem now to belong to the political concepts of ancient times:

"If the nature of our institutions be to found government on property, and that it should look to those who hold property for its protection, it is entirely just that property should have its due weight and consideration in political arrangements.

"Life and personal liberty are no doubt to be protected by law; but property is also to be protected by law, and is the fund out of which the means for protecting life and liberty are usually furnished.'

"He therefore concluded that property was the just and proper basis of government. Against Adams and Story and Webster, Levi Lincoln and his political associates spoke in vain, and their propositions were rejected. Webster's speech was supposed to be unanswerable.

* * * *

"Ten years later [1830], in Virginia, the struggle for the franchise was a forlorn hope in the Richmond convention. Eighty thousand white male inhabitants of the commonwealth were disfranchised by the property qualifications in the constitution of 1776. These non-free-holders found expression of their ideas in the resolutions sent up to the convention by the non-free-holders of Richmond. Although not sympathizing with the spirit of this memorial, Chief Justice Marshall, a member of the convention, presented it, and afterward voted against its favorable consideration.

"Two ex-Presidents of the United States, James Madison and James Monroe, and a future President, John Tyler, were also members. They opposed the abolition of the free-hold qualification for the elector.

"Like John Adams in the Massachusetts convention ten years before, like Kent and King in New York, like all the eighteenth century statesmen of America, Madison and Monroe drew their premises and their political analogies from the history of the Greek and Italian republics.

a final campaign might be expected to differ from an earlier battle in the same general warfare.

652 The Old Unionism.—Labor Unionism at one time refused membership to all but a limited few; it refused to take part in any political agitation, and

"The separation of government from its true basis, property—and by property was meant land—would destroy the state. President Monroe, too feeble in health to continue as presiding officer of the convention, made his last public utterance an expostulation against the extension of the suffrage to non-free-holders. * * *

"But the man on whose words the [Virginia] convention hung was Madison, and he thought that the rights of property and of persons were inseparable. Property was reliable; men were not.

"If universal suffrage were granted, the majority would not sufficiently respect the rights of the minority. The influential members of the convention supported Marshall, Madison and Monroe. * * * *

"Though deprived of their political rights, the eighty thousand non-free-holders of the commonwealth were subjected to all the burdens imposed by it. Though excluded from the polls, they were marshalled on the battlefield. Though they could not vote, they were good enough to be summoned to the defense of the state and of those within it who exclusively exercised the rights of franchise.

"Experience had not shown that free-holders were a dangerous class. They were the mechanics and artificers in the commonwealth.

"The denial of the right to vote had forced the young men of Virginia to migrate to Western states, where such restrictions were not tolerated. * * *

"Yet the non-free-holding white men of Virginia were not so favorably situated as free persons of color in some of the Western states. Therefore they thought themselves justly entitled to the right to vote.

"The convention thought otherwise, and the free-hold qualifications continued in Virginia twenty years more.

"An unparalleled political enfranchisement [from 1800 to 1900] extended the right to vote, which in 1796 reposed in only one-twentieth of the population, but a century later in one-sixth of it—the nearest approach to universal suffrage in history."—Thorpe: *A History of the American People*, pp. 532 * * * 34; 536 * * * 38; 556.

"On the eve of the Industrial Revolution, England in its social, industrial and political organization was still mediæval. The old view which regarded the whole system of social inequality as the divine order from the foundation of the world still held sway. The whole English political system was in the hands of the king and the great landed and commercial classes. Democracy in the modern sense had not yet appeared upon the political arena, for not over one person in five hundred had a vote."—Beard: *Industrial Revolution*, p. 53.

"The essential cause of the growth of durable associations of wage earners must lie in something peculiar to the century. This fundamental condition of Trade Unionism we discover in the economic revolution through which certain industries were passing. In all cases in which Trade Unions arose, the great bulk of the workers had ceased to be independent producers, themselves controlling the processes, and owning the materials and the product of their labor, and had passed into the condition of life-long wage-earners, possessing neither the instruments of production nor the commodity in its finished state. From the

asked for no labor legislation, and while seeking to establish the welfare of the workers it refused to take any advantage of the authority of the state.¹⁰ Socialism in the same way was at first attempted by limited groups of people, without regard to the welfare of the great mass of society, without any dependence upon legislation and independent of the authority of the state. The New Unionism of recent years has been continuously enlarging the number of those to be included, and now includes within its program an effort to provide for all workers within its organization. It is moreover represented in many ways in the political agitations of the time, has been clamorous for legislation, and more and more makes itself a factor in politics.¹¹ In the same manner Socialism has practically abandoned all efforts to secure the benefits of the co-operative commonwealth by constructing a little community of its own within a larger community, and has no hope of securing the benefits of co-operation for any large portion of the workers, except provision shall be made for all. A hundred years ago the agitation which has finally ripened into the demand for Socialism attempted to realize its purpose without the interference of the state. Today the whole strength of the movement for Socialism is organizing to make itself felt

moment that to establish a given business more capital is required than a journeyman can easily accumulate within a few years, guild master-ship—the mastership of the masterpiece—becomes little more than a name. * * * Skill alone is valueless, and is soon compelled to hire itself out to capital. * * * Now begins the opposition of interest between employers and employed; now the latter begin to group themselves together; now rises the trade society, or, to express this Industrial Revolution in more abstract terms, we may say, in the words of Dr. Ingram, that ‘the whole modern organization of labor in its advanced forms rests on a fundamental fact, which has spontaneously and increasingly developed itself—namely, the definite separation between the functions of the capitalist and the workman, or, in other words, between the direction of industrial operations and their execution in detail.’—Webb: *History of Trade Unionism—New and Old*, p. 24.

10. Howell: *Trades Unionism—New and Old*, pp. 74-82.

11. Howell: *Trades Unionism—New and Old*, p. 193.

throughout the world for the purpose of capturing the powers of the state, through political action, in order to use these powers to inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth.

653. The Hopeless Beginning.—At the beginning of the wage system the runaway serfs were hardly more helpless than the founders of the guilds had been in the early days of feudalism. The question has been raised why the early labor organizations at the beginning of the wage system did not themselves become productive organizations as had the ancient guilds at the beginning of the free cities. The answer is that the guilds were able to take advantage of the quarrels between the kings and their subject lords. At the beginning of the wage system the kings had become triumphant and there was no strong political authority of any sort with which the helpless workers could form alliances and thus secure the civil right to exist as productive organizations. At the beginning of the guilds the whole country was broken into small patches, each controlled by its local lord or petty prince, and whoever could get control of such a patch of the earth could possess and control the means of production within the territory so possessed. When the wage system was established private possession of land and, hence, the complete control of the means of production, had been established in the hands of the few and the evicted workers could obtain no access to the means of production except as the hired workers of those who had possession of the earth and whose possession was now defended by the very authorities which had before both encouraged and chartered the guilds. At the beginning of the free cities the strongest authority of the state found it to its advantage to permit guilds. At the beginning of the wage system the strongest authority of the state, instead of encour-

aging labor organizations, believed it to be to its advantage to forbid their existence, and punished as treason to the state all efforts to effect such organizations.

654. A World Movement.—In the same way it has been asked why Socialism cannot be organized as an original, independent, economic creation after the same manner as the free cities of Europe were established in mediaeval times, and the answer is that the economic life of the world has grown to be a unit. There is one world market, to which all products must be brought for sale, and from which all the means of life must be obtained, and any efforts to organize industry or commerce, made by small groups of people or by any nation not strong enough to do so in defiance of all other nations, even though it were a nation as active as the men of Cuba, or of the Philippines, or of South Africa, or as populous as China, must come to disaster, for neither political nor economic life is any longer possible, except as an active share of the life of the world.

655. Unionism and Socialism.—The purposes of the Labor Unions are included in the demands of the Socialist. The Unions propose to shorten the day of labor, to increase the returns of labor and to provide for all workers within their organizations. Socialism seeks to do the same things. The Unions attempt to secure these things by the organization of the trades, by means of the strike and by the use of their power as a force in politics. Socialism goes directly to the civil authority and attempts by the union of all working men to take possession of the power of the state and of the means of production, and to jointly administer the joint affairs of all the people, including the organization of industry, and, through the political power of the working men, shorten the working day, increase the returns of labor to the utmost limit, as well as pro-

vide an opportunity for securing such employment and such returns for the labor of all mankind.

656. Scope of Service.—The Unions have been and are able to greatly benefit the workers in all lines of employment where the workers are limited in number, where practically all the workers in such an industry are members of the Union, and where the trade is one in which the employers are able to improve the conditions under which the workers toil. But if the workers are large in number and widely scattered, effective organization is made very difficult. If a large number of workers in the same trade are outside of the organization and are ready to make terms individually with their employer, the men in the organization are continuously defeated by those without, or if the employers are so engaged that they are barely earning a living and are unable to improve the conditions of their business, a strike could ruin the employers without improving the conditions of the workers themselves. All of those trades which require unusual skill are better able to secure advantages through Labor Unions than those engaged in common labor, because special skill limits the number, makes possible a completer organization, and such workers are usually engaged in employments which are themselves more profitable.

657. The Schools and the Unions.—The industrial schools, however, are providing specially trained but unorganized workers. Machinery is supplanting the trades, and is setting the skilled and organized workmen aside, not only for the unorganized and unskilled men, but for the women and children, and finally the world-market is coming to be not only a market in which the price of the products of labor is determined, but the price of labor itself. There are developing with remarkable rapidity conditions under which the workers who are most poorly paid, most completely

disorganized—in short, who are the most helpless in the hands of their employers—will be set to work on the other side of the earth producing for the markets of the world. Great as have been the achievements of the Unions, important as have been their services, the difficulties, which they encounter today are becoming every hour more serious.

658. Socialism and Unionism.—Socialism is the logical outcome of the centuries of agitation, which has given us the great organizations of labor, and the triumph of Socialism will enlarge the scope, perfect the organizations and make them the political and economic masters of the world.¹²

659. Shorter Hours.—There is not one purpose of modern Labor Unionism which is not also involved in Socialism. Socialism is the most effective proposal ever made for providing for the world's comfort and at the same time shortening the hours of labor. Under Socialism there will be no way by which any one can get anything out of the market unless he has had some share in putting something into the market. That means that all buyers must also be workers; it means that those who toil will no longer be required to lengthen their hours of labor in order to provide a living for those who do not toil. Again, under Socialism all unnecessary labor will cease. It is impossible to estimate how great a saving this will be. One hundred stores render the services which one could render better, a dozen milkmen render the services which one

12. "In short, the history of civilization is the history of freedom. * * * It has not been by the theories of philosophers and law-givers that political institutions have been formed, but by the conflict of social forces in the several States. * * * They [the law-givers and philosophers] have given light and guidance to leaders of popular movements; but no laws or principles will avail until society is ripe for their acceptance. Rulers will not willingly surrender their power; nor can a people wrest it from them until they have become strong enough to wield it."—May: *Democracy in Europe*, Vol. I., Introduction, pp. xxii., xxiv.

could render just as well. The complete organization of the distribution of goods will effect a saving in the amount of labor required, which would be beyond calculation, and all this labor saved from doing needless work would at once be available to reinforce the doing of the necessary work, and so further shorten the day. Again, most men toil with imperfect tools, in badly-managed industries, in small enterprises. Under Socialism they will have the best equipment, the largest possible organization, and all industry will be carried on under scientific methods, and so under Socialism the labor which must now be performed to take care of those who are idle, the unnecessary labor resulting from bad organization and the ineffective labor caused by the use of poor tools and rude equipment will all be saved and will all be available for shortening the day. The demand of the Labor Unions for shorter hours can never be realized to its fullest possibility until the world's work shall be undertaken with the completest equipment and the most perfect organization, and these are possible only under Socialism.

660. Increased Rewards.—Again, the Labor Unions demand increased rewards for the laborers. Under the wage system no matter how much the wages may be increased, they must always be less than the total product. If the workers were given the total value of the product of their labor in wages there would be no profits for the management, and a lockout would follow; or there would be no interest for the capitalist, and a foreclosure, and hence, a lockout would follow; or there would be no rent for the landlord, and hence, eviction, and again a lockout would follow. The only way labor can be employed at all for wages is that the laborer shall receive as his reward less than his labor produces. But under Socialism the landlord, the capitalist and the private manager do not need to be pro-

vided for. The only claimant against the products of labor would be the laborer himself. The returns for labor can never be in excess of the total product. Under Socialism they can never be less than the total product, and so, again, this demand of the Labor Unions can never be secured to the fullest extent except by the triumph of Socialism.

661. Employment for All.—Again, and finally, the Labor Unions demand that the workers in any trade shall come into the organization of that trade and bear their share in fighting its battles if they hope to share in the advantages of the trade, but they have no means by which a demand so reasonable and so just can be enforced among all workers everywhere. The international development of industry brings into the labor market all the workers of the earth. Not unless the African, the Chinaman and the Filipino can be made effective members of an international Labor Union will the Unions be able to any effective degree to direct the laborers in the production of the great staples of the world's market.

662. The International Competitor.—The "scab" is no longer the unorganized and hungry worker, waiting at the factory gate. He is a whole race of men, ignorant, sullen, unorganized, overpowered by the international soldier and terrorized by international agreement, beyond the reach of the walking delegate, toiling under the direction of the international trust, producing for the trust-ruled and international market, which acts under the protection of the new international imperialism. The Labor Unions cannot bring deliverance to the workers away from home until they come to possess the fullness of power at home. They cannot do effective missionary work among the workers of other lands while the authorities of their own countries conspire to enslave the less powerful peoples.

All the workers of the world can never be provided for within the labor organizations until these organizations shall be enlarged, perfected and made both the political and economic masters of the countries in which they exist.¹³ To this end the Unions must advance in two directions:

663. Industrial Organization.—1. The employers now employ at the same time men working in many trades. Carpenters, masons, plumbers all working for the same employer, are rapidly coming to understand the advantages of a labor organization of all those engaged in the building industry. This is what is meant by the industrial organization of the Labor Unions. The Western Federation of Miners includes all workers in any way engaged in or about the mines. This is unquestionably the strongest form of labor organization for effective work in dealing with the masters. It is further an advantage inasmuch as the development of Labor Unions along the line of the great industries is making the beginnings under capitalism of the very organizations most likely to constitute both the industrial and political subdivisions in the actual administration of affairs in the beginning of the co-operative commonwealth. The International Machinists' Union, the Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the American Labor Union, and many Trades Councils

13. "Marxian Socialism has the candor to say, through the mouths of its most authoritative spokesman, to the great suffering host of the modern proletariat, that it has no magic wand to transform the world in a single day, as one shifts the scenes in a theatre; it says on the contrary, repeating the prophetic extortion of Marx, 'Proletarians of all countries, unite,' that the social revolution cannot achieve its object unless it first becomes a vivid fact in the mind of the workers themselves by virtue of the clear perception of their class-interests and of the strength which their union will give them, and that they will not wake up some day under a full-fledged Socialist regime, because divided and apathetic for 364 days out of the year, they shall rebel on the 365th or devote themselves to the perpetration of some deed of personal violence."—Ferri: *Socialism and Modern Science*, pp. 143-144.

and State Federations allied with the American Federation of Labor, have declared for industrial unions.

664. Must Administer the Government.—2. They must capture and directly administer the affairs of the state. The political power which now speaks for international imperialism must proclaim instead for international brotherhood. With the prestige of the triumphant organization of the most advanced peoples the organized working men must go to the more backward races. They must not go with the mission of oppression like the present rulers of the world. They must not go with the helpless and hopeless cry of discontent, as they must do if they go abroad before they conquer at home. They must go with the strength and power of the new civilization behind them. This is the program of the Socialists as well as the dream of the Labor Unionist, for the Socialist teacher will teach the new lesson and the Socialist army and navy in its final contest with capitalism will dispose of the oppressor and then dispose of the militarism which made the oppressor in the first place. Unless Labor Unionism shall ripen into Socialism the “scab” will become the ultimate worker in international industry. Under Socialism all men will be provided for by the direct organization of industry for that purpose, and the hungry and idle worker can no longer be found to bid against and beat down the standard of living of those employed. And so it is seen that Socialism provides the only way by which the purposes of the Labor Unions can be fully realized, the shortened day, increased returns and provision for all the workers within the organization. The “scab” must continue to appear as long as the sore remains. Socialism alone proposes to heal the robbed and wounded toilers of the world.

665. In Politics.—If the labor unions are to capture the power of the state they must go into politics to do

so. There are three ways for the unions to be active in politics:

666. The Labor Lobby.—1. They can act through a labor lobby seeking to secure favors at the hands of congress while congress is controlled by the same industrial masters against whom the workers contend at the shop door. Some advantages have been secured in this way. But the chances for accomplishing anything in this way grow less as the class struggle grows more intense and the class lines are more closely drawn in the administration of affairs at Washington.

667. Endorsing Candidates.—2. The unions can endorse Republican or Democratic candidates. Such a candidate if elected and called upon to act in office for or against the masters in the shops will be obliged to betray either the masters or the working men. If he betrays the working men they usually forget. If he betrays the masters it means his political and usually his industrial ruin. He was pledged to both in order to secure his election. Being elected he can serve only one, and he usually serves the masters.¹⁴ If the whole party could be captured and made a working man's party outright, driving from its ranks all masters and attracting to its ranks all working men, that would be a different matter. But that is not possible because the masters are in control of the organizations of both the Democratic and Republican parties and the machinery of neither party can be captured by the working men.

668. The Shop Door and the Ballot Box.—3. The Unions can refuse to go into politics, can abolish their

14. "At the Oberlin Sociological Institute, in June, 1895, Dr. Washington Gladden and Hon. Carroll D. Wright concurred with the author in the statement that neither the Interstate Commerce law nor the Anti-Trust law had any enforcement worth mentioning, except against labor, to which they were not intended to apply."—Crafts: *Practical Christian Sociology*, p. 128.

lobby and forbid all partisan endorsements by the unions as such, leaving its members free to act as they may elect while the Unions teach the principles for which the Unions stand and urge all their members to vote for these principles whenever presented to them at the ballot box. And the members of the unions, as citizens, can co-operate with all others who stand for these same principles, whether in the Unions or not, in building and in making triumphant at the ballot box a political party of working men.

669. Union Not a Political Party.—It is frequently urged that the Unions nominate their own tickets and act directly as a political party. In this way it has frequently carried local elections.

But the trouble with this is that it makes the Union a political party in all matters of controversy at the shops divides the workers and embarrasses its work as a Labor Union. As a political party it is difficult to secure the support of the whole body of the working men at the ballot box when it is known that the party is answerable to only a portion of those who vote its ticket rather than to all. Again, the working man's party must be national and even international if it is really to serve the interests of the working class. The Socialist party is already in the field in all the countries of the world where Labor Unions exist. The platform of the Socialists is the only possible working program for a working man's political party. Seven millions of voters are already voting the Socialist ticket. The Labor Unions are everywhere teaching their members the same principles for which the Socialists are contending at the ballot box.

670. A Working Program.—All Socialists ought to stand with the Unions for these principles in every encounter of the workers with their masters. All Unionists ought to stand with the Socialists for these

same principles at the ballot box. Acting through the Unions, working men must win the greatest immediate advantage in hours and wages and so develop the Union organization along industrial lines that when the same working men, acting through the Socialist party, shall have displaced the masters, now in political control, then their industrial organizations will be found to be in the best possible condition for the direct organization and management of the great industries under the co-operative commonwealth. But the Socialist party, or some party standing for the same principles as the Socialist party,—and that would be a Socialist party—must win political control of all the nations of the earth in order that the growing industrial organizations of the workers may enter upon the possession and management of these industries. In no other way can collective ownership, democratic management and equal opportunity to be employed be won for all the workers.

671. Summary.—1. The ancient guilds were a development of their own times. They rendered important services to the growth of society. They lost power in the world with the passing away of the conditions which caused their existence. They could not exist under present conditions, and their existence would not now be desirable if it were possible.

2. The labor organizations which succeeded the guilds and have grown into the modern labor unions have been both industrial and political pioneers and have been the most effective factors in the struggle for the rights of the toilers.

3. The Labor Unions are asking for labor legislation, and do not hesitate to use their power in politics.

4. The administration of labor laws, through the courts and by other public officers, is quite as important as the enactment of these laws in the first place.

5. The legislators and the courts, and all the officers from sheriff to president, who have to do with the enactment and enforcement of laws, can be controlled in no other way than by controlling the political party which elects them.

6. The management of the Republican and Democratic parties and of all political parties anywhere now in control is composed of capitalists. These parties are controlled by capitalists, in the interests of capitalism, and cannot be used to carry out the purposes of the Labor Unions.

7. Socialists are organizing and hope to make triumphant a political party composed of workingmen, supported by workingmen, and so controlled by workingmen. Such a party cannot fail to do the bidding of the working men, and the working men are everywhere so largely in the majority, as compared with the rich and idle, that whenever they can be made to understand the situation and combine for action, they will constitute a more resistless political and economic force than has yet been known in history.

8. Socialism is the final form of the warfare which the Labor Unions have all along been carrying on. Socialism is the logical and necessary outcome of Labor Unionism.

9. Every Socialist should be a member of a Labor Union. He should be loyal to the organizations which have accomplished so much in the past and which mean so much for the future. He should have his share in fighting its battles, winning its victories, and in fixing its policy as related to the final struggle for the emancipation of labor.

10. Every Unionist should be a member of the Socialist party. Unionism having fought the battles of labor until with a day's journey of the final victory,

the Unionist ought to fall in line for this final fight for the full possession and the free use of the means of producing the means of life.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Give an account of the ancient guilds.
2. Why could not the labor organizations under the wage system repeat the history of the guilds?
3. Trace the class struggle from prehistoric times and state what form it has taken under each new status of the workingman.
4. How and why will Socialism end the class struggle?
5. How are the plans of Socialism and of the Labor Unions related to each other?
6. Show how both Labor Unionism and Socialism commenced with wholly voluntary organizations and have extended their plans to include political action.
7. In what ways have the Unions advanced the cause of labor? Under what conditions can the Unions improve the conditions of the workers?
8. Show why the shortest possible day and the largest possible returns for labor are impossible under the wage system.
9. Why cannot all the workers be provided for within the Unions and under the wage system?
10. How can Socialism shorten the day of labor, increase the rewards of labor, and provide employment for all the workers?
11. Why must the Labor Unions possess and use the full power of the state at home before they can protect themselves from unorganized labor abroad?
12. Why is the party of Socialism the only party which can carry out the plans of the Labor Unions?
13. Why should all Socialists be in the Unions and all Unionists be in the political party of the Socialists?

CHAPTER XXXVI

MUNICIPAL MISRULE AND SOCIALISM

672. Majority Always for Good Government.—City governments are everywhere corrupt. It is claimed that this is because of bad men; but the city governments are everywhere corrupt and are each year growing more corrupt. It is hardly true that men are everywhere bad and each year growing worse. A man does not need to be a very good man to want decent city government. He does not need to be even good enough to be anxious to behave himself. He only needs to have sense enough to want other people to behave, far enough at least so that they will not rob him, nor mismanage the schools, nor neglect the sewers, nor protect the criminals, nor leave the city in a general way in an unsanitary and disorderly condition. All of these considerations are necessarily of importance to all of the people. Without doubt, the overwhelming majority of all of the people in all of the cities desire good government. Why are they not able to secure it?

673. Both Parties Alike in City Rule.—The Democrats claim it is the fault of the Republicans, the Republicans claim it is the fault of the Democrats, but the democratic and republican cities are alike corrupt. Temporary independent political organizations, com-

posed of men who are either Republicans or Democrats in state and national affairs, contend that it is the fault of both parties. But independent political parties have never been able for any great period of time to greatly improve municipal administrations. It cannot, therefore, be the special fault of either party as compared with the other. We must look for the cause somewhere beyond the bad character of individuals, or the unusual corruption of any political party as compared with any other political party.

674. Corrupt Social Forces.—As in all other social and economic problems, it is a study of social and economic forces, not a study of persons, which must be depended upon for a solution. There are four such forces necessarily corrupt and present in all modern cities. They are the tax dodgers, the private corporations engaged in rendering public service, the professional politicians, and the purchasable voters. (See Chapter XXXVII for fuller discussion of taxation.)

675. Tax Dodgers.—The great private properties in all the cities are always endeavoring to escape their share of the public tax by controlling the public officials whose duties are to justly assess and to promptly collect these taxes.

676. Corporations.—These corporations are the creatures of society. They are brought into existence by the authority of society for the express purpose of rendering to the members of society a purely social service. We are told that these corporations ought not to be active in politics. They cannot come into existence without securing franchises, and they cannot secure franchises without going into politics. The franchises are granted by a political body, and franchises cannot be secured from such a body except by approaching that body in some way. And whatever method of approach is adopted, no matter whether

honorable or dishonorable, brings the parties who are securing the franchises into contact with and into business relations with a political body. It brings them into politics. When such a franchise has been granted, and the corporation is engaged in performing some public service, the same political authority which granted the franchise will have the legal power, under the pretense of protecting public interests, to continuously interfere with the management of the business which the corporation has been created to carry on. If the corporation, then, is to pay dividends, is to secure to its stockholders and the management the largest possible returns, the management of the corporation must provide in some way the means by which the corporation can control its own affairs. Either the municipal authorities must control the corporation or the corporation must control the municipal authorities. And this is true without any regard whatever to what political party is in power, or to the character of the men in the corporation or in public office. Either the corporation must go into politics to secure its franchise or stay out of business. Once in business, the corporation must continuously stay in politics in order to protect itself from continual interference on the part of public authorities, or it must stay in politics in order to control the public authorities.¹

1. "It is doubtless true that in many cases large sums are paid by corporations to affect in some way or other the actions of legislatures. The officers of the corporations or their friends, if they speak at all on the subject, are likely to say that 'strike' bills are frequently introduced in the legislatures for the especial purpose of threatening their interests, in order that certain of the members may be paid to withdraw the hostile bill; and that it has been found both cheaper and much more effective to pay the very few people who employ this blackmailing plan than to attempt to defeat the hostile bill by fair argument. It seems also to be true at times that a bill which may be entirely proper and even beneficial to the public in its nature, but which also favors particularly the interests of some of the larger corporations, may be opposed by the party leaders or by individual representatives, until an amount of money has been paid either to party managers or to enough individual members of the legislature to secure the passage of

677. Professional Politicians.—In speaking of professional politicians no reference is made to the large number of public-spirited citizens who are all the time endeavoring to protect public interests from private abuse or to improve the general character of public institutions. No one will dispute, however, that in every city there is a very large number of citizens who have no convictions on public questions, no public interests of any sort, no reason whatever for being either Democrats or Republicans, and whose sole interest in politics is to secure for themselves the spoils of public office. It is rare indeed that any municipal convention held by either of the great political parties ever escapes from the control of politicians of this variety. All questions of public interest, of political importance and of general party policy are held secondary to the personal advantage of these self-seeking politicians.

the bill. Not long since a bill which was said to be entirely in the public interest, as well as in that of one of the large corporations, could be passed in the legislature of one of our larger states, it was reported, only by the payment of \$150,000 to the leader of the party in power. Some of the larger corporations, business men say, expect to set aside for such uses a considerable sum to be charged to business expense.

"Before a committee of Congress, Mr. Havemeyer testified that the American Sugar Refining Company contributed in some States to the campaign fund of the Republican party, in others to that of the Democratic party, the intention being to stand well with the dominant party in each State."—Jenks: *The Trust Problem*, p. 190-192.

"The corporations concerned with our great local monopolies are so closely associated with municipal government as to complicate all problems of reform and improvement. This is inevitable so long as present arrangements continue. This is, indeed, the great evil in private ownership of public utilities. This private ownership results in an antagonism of interests between the most powerful classes in cities, and the cities as a whole. It is absolutely inevitable that a city should exercise a measure of control over the corporations which furnish public utilities. It is also absolutely inevitable, with human nature as it is, that these corporations should enter politics, in order to prevent this control from taking forms which they look upon as hostile to their interests. One peculiarity of the situation is this: That the strongest elements in the community are directly and indirectly interested in these private corporations.

"We continually hear complaint made about the apathy and indifference of our best citizens. It seems strange that it occurs to people so seldom to inquire into the underlying cause of this apathy and in-

The spoils of office do not consist of the salaries only. There are franchises to be given away, so far as the public is concerned, but to be sold for a consideration, so far as the corporations and the politicians are concerned. There are tax dodgers to be protected and assessors and boards of review and of equalization to be rewarded for giving protection. There are contracts to let involving vast sums of money and public interests of the greatest importance. There is hardly a city where private contractors engaged in improving streets, or building sewers, or lighting the city, do not exercise more political influence than all the schools, churches and editors combined. But the placing of these contracts is an important part of the public service, and the man in office is in a position to betray the public in the interest of the contractor engaged in constructing or improving public works, and then to compel the contractor to divide the spoils. Again, there are jobs to distribute, and this does not mean simply the men whose names appear on the public pay-roll. The employes of the private corporations in the great cities are largely engaged on the recommendation of

difference. We might, indeed, first of all, ask the question: Are we not combining altogether contradictory terms? Is it possible that a citizen can be at the same time a good citizen and apathetic and indifferent about the character of the government of the city in which he lives. If the citizen were really a good citizen, would he not exert himself in behalf of his city, his state, and his country? Passing by, however, any reflections of this kind, is it not natural to suppose that there must be some underlying cause for this apathy and indifference? Is it not quite possible that in many cases these best citizens are gaining more than they lose by precisely the kind of municipal government which exists at the present time? A distinguished divine, in an address before the Marquette Club, of Chicago, expressed himself as follows: 'If we were to awake to-morrow morning and find that all the aldermen in the city hall were honest men, a lot of our most respectable citizens would be found running around town like chickens with their heads cut off, seeking to protect the franchises their attorneys have plotted and schemed and bribed to get for them. You say our intelligent men, wealthy men, our brainy men, should be aided in this reform. It is our intelligent men who are looting the community. They don't want municipal reform. Present conditions are too profitable.'—Ely: *The Coming City*, pp. 66-69.

the mayor, the aldermen or the "strongest man" in the various wards. Thus it is seen that the salaries attached to the public offices, the prices paid to office-holders for public franchises, the commissions to the public officer for the placing of public contracts, and the advantage a political adventurer has of being able to play the role of an employer because of his relations to the corporations, are all sources of income and means of power for this great group of professional politicians.

678. Purchasable Voters.—The purchasable voters are a much larger group than those who sell their votes for dollars or for drinks. Corporation employes who hold their positions on the recommendation of active politicians, as well as the great group of public employes, are directly interested in the results of municipal elections, because their employment is directly involved. But there is a much larger and a more powerful group of voters even than these who are essentially purchasable, and in whose case the consideration is neither free dollars nor free drinks. There is a large number of people in every great city who earn their living in lines of employment subject to police control. The business may be regularly licensed and perfectly legitimate, as the business of an expressman, or it may border on the criminal line, that is, because of its character or the character of its patrons, it may be directly connected with the lawless portions of the community. It is of the greatest importance to all persons doing business under a license of any sort to keep the peace with the police department; it is of the greatest importance to those engaged in lines of business not permitted under the law, but usually tolerated by the police, to keep the peace with the police department. There is, again, the large number of voters whose only appreciation of the value of their ballots is the price

they will bring on election day, but these voters are largely bought and sold through the places of public resort, subject to police control. It will be seen, then, that the number of people in a great city who have direct personal business reasons for voting one way or another regardless of the public interest is very large.

679. Always False Issues.—Now, there is one thing that is true of all these interests, of the tax dodgers, of the corporations, of the politicians and of the purchasable voters, namely, none of them are in a position to state to the general public exactly what they want and why they are fighting for any particular party in any particular campaign. If the tax dodger should say he was dodging his taxes, and was supporting a candidate in order that he might continue to do so, he would defeat his candidate. If the corporation should tell the people that it wishes certain persons elected, because they will not interfere with the corporation's business and will permit the furnishing of inferior gas, of polluted water, or of over-crowded and unheated cars, to the great advantage of the corporation and to the great injury of the public, the public would never vote for its candidates. If the politicians should state frankly that the reason they wish their party to win in an election is because of the salaries, the private commissions secured through the granting of licenses, the letting of contracts, the protection of tax dodgers, or the sale of franchises, or the levying of blackmail on forbidden callings, the general public would resent the proposal, and would bury the party. If the purchasable voters should frankly state that they are anxious for their party to win because it means police protection for a questionable business, or for the improper conduct of a legitimate business, or for private jobs, or for drinks, or dollars, the public would never vote for such a program. The only way

that tax dodgers, corporations, politicians and purchasable voters can secure what they want is to all the time pretend to be fighting for something else.

680. Dividing the Voters.—But this would not be sufficient to insure their control except for the fact that state and national political parties are able to divide the larger portion of the people between the Republicans and the Democrats, or if this fails, to hold the division then by organizing “citizens’ parties” and “independent parties” in such a way as to still divide the people who all the time desire good government, and in this way persuade them to vote against each other and thus cancel each other’s votes, while the tax dodgers, the corporations, the politicians, the purchasable voters, by acting together, usually first with one party and then with another, are able all the time to hold themselves in control.

681. Pooling Interests by Corrupt Forces.—The tax dodgers and corporations have few votes, but they have plenty of dollars. The politicians have few dollars, but they are willing to do anything to get dollars, or votes for the sake of dollars. The purchasable voters are not numerous as compared with the rest of the community, but they are anxious for the best price in drinks or dollars, or jobs, for the votes they sell, or for the guarantee of protection from interference through the police department for their private enterprises, or their public crimes, and all these together, with the rest of the community voting in opposition to each other on general measures, are numerous enough to hold the balance of power between political parties and in this way all the time control elections and corruptly administer, in their own behalf, the general interests of all the great centers of population. The tax dodgers, the corporations, the politicians, and the purchasable voters have

pooled their interests and are acting together the world over.

682. Socialism and Municipal Misrule.—Municipal misrule as related to Socialism involves two important considerations. First, what will become of the corrupt forces of municipal life under Socialism; and, Second, what could the Socialist party do if in control of a municipality before securing control of the general government, and hence while being obliged to administer the affairs of a city under the laws and institutions established by capitalism.

683. Tax Dodgers, Corporations, Politicians and the Socialists.—First, both taxation and the tax dodger will cease to exist under Socialism.

Second, the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, by abolishing the private corporation, will utterly destroy the power in public matters of the private corporation which is rendering a public service.

Third, the co-operative commonwealth will utterly destroy the power of the professional politician so far as he is able to secure for himself an unusual salary, private reward for the sale of franchises, commissions for placing contracts, blackmail in connection with licenses or crimes, or private spoils in the distribution of jobs, because none of these will be possible under Socialism. Franchises will be neither sold nor given away; the contract system as related to public works will not exist, and the best possible employment will be guaranteed to all, regardless of their relations to any political party.

684. Why No Purchasable Voters Under Socialism.—Fourth, under the co-operative commonwealth, the purchasable voter will utterly disappear, for the reason that under the co-operative commonwealth his vote will involve, neither the matter of protecting himself in a questionable business, nor in the improper conduct

of a legitimate enterprise, as is now the case, but will then involve all of the problems that from day to day are related in any way to his employment, his hours of labor, his subsistence, and all other questions related in any way whatever to the collective management of the collective industries of the co-operative commonwealth. There would be no private contractors, or private spoilsmen in public office with personal advantages to them of sufficient importance to put them into the market as the purchasers of the votes of others; but if such a thing were possible, the personal interests of the individual voter, in the just and efficient administration of public affairs, would be so great, under the co-operative commonwealth, that no private boodler could afford to pay a sufficient price in the purchase of a vote to make it of advantage to any voter to sell his ballot for the advantage of another, rather than to use his ballot to protect and provide for himself. The political job, even if it could be conceived to exist under Socialism, will lose its power to attract when decent, industrial employment shall be the right of all. Give to all men and women the opportunity for reasonable, respectable, clean and honest work, and questionable enterprises,—lawless methods of providing one's livelihood, will be utterly abandoned. Socialism, then, will settle the problem of municipal corruption by putting out of existence the great political forces which are now the sources of municipal corruption. Socialism will remove both the motive and the opportunity for municipal misrule.

685. While Capitalism Remains.—Again, the Socialist party will not be able to do all these things until it is in control in the nation, because only then can it inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth. But in any city it could immediately and greatly improve the administration of local affairs. Today the corpora-

tions and tax dodgers furnish the money, the politicians do the unclean work, and the purchasable voters furnish the only vote sufficiently large, under the guidance of the professional politician and influenced by the funds of the corporations and tax dodgers, to control elections.

686. Corrupting Forces Put Together and Out of Power. The Socialist party will directly antagonize the private corporations and the tax dodgers, because of the nature of its general proposals, and having their opposition, would drive them into the party of opposition to Socialism, and together with the corporations and tax dodgers, all of the forces of municipal corruption which the corporations and tax dodgers can control, including the professional politicians and the purchasable voters. Wherever the Socialist party has approached the point of promising an early victory for the Socialist party, all other political parties have combined in a single organization to withstand Socialism. This being the case, while the Socialist party cannot locally inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth and so destroy the forces which corrupt municipal administrations, it can drive all of these forces of municipal corruption into one political party, and by carrying the election put that party out of power.

But what would be the nature of the relations of the Socialist party to these same corrupt political forces? Not until the co-operative commonwealth could abolish corporations, and by giving employment to all, rob the professional politician of the unusual salaries and of the spoils of office and put out of existence the purchasable voter by making the vote of all men and women of such great economic value to themselves that no one could afford to sell, and no one could afford to buy, could the forces of municipal corruption be put out of existence. But the Socialist

party coming into power in defiance of these forces and in spite of their opposition would not be obliged to keep the peace with them in order to return to power. The Socialist vote would be composed of the voters whose public interests would be real and genuine. They would be interested in improving the public schools, and maintaining sanitary conditions, in abolishing the outrage of private blackmail, and in securing the greatest benefits to the public from private corporations, so long as private corporations remain in the public service. An administration which would enable a Socialist party to hold its own votes together, would necessarily antagonize the corporations and their corrupt followings in municipal affairs.

687. Keeping Them Out.—So long as these corrupt forces, tax dodgers, private corporations, professional politicians and purchasable voters remain, so long municipal corruption cannot be entirely set aside. So soon as the co-operative commonwealth is established, municipal misrule will cease, because the causes of municipal misrule will cease to exist. So soon as the Socialist party shall come into control of any city, the tax dodgers, the corporations, the professional politicians and the purchasable voters will be shorn of their greatest power by forcing them into one political party and by putting that party out of power in the municipality. The tax dodgers and the corporations would be obliged to deal with public officers whose election they had done their best to prevent and who would find the continual enmity of the tax dodgers and corporations the strongest element in securing their own reelection.

688. Summary.—1. City governments are uniformly corrupt.

2. Tax dodgers, corporations, professional politicians and purchasable voters are directly and greatly

interested in having the city administrations corrupt.

3. The whole body of voters are kept divided while the corrupt forces unite, and, acting first with one party and then with the other, control the city all the time.

4. When Socialism comes the tax dodger, the corporation, the professional politician and the purchasable voter will all disappear.

5. The sources of corruption having been removed, municipal corruption will also disappear.

6. A local municipal victory could not establish Socialism, but the Socialist party, because of its general program, would drive the tax dodger, the corporation, the professional politician and the purchasable voter all into one party and by carrying the election put that party out of power.

7. The Socialist party could remain in power only by continuously provoking the opposition of these corrupting forces by a just administration of affairs.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Are virtuous citizens the only ones who desire good government? Why?
2. Why are both the Democratic and Republican parties alike corrupt in city matters?
3. What are the sources of municipal corruption?
4. Why are the tax dodger, the corporation, the politician and the purchasable voter all personally interested in misrule?
5. What is the personal interest of each?
6. Why cannot the corporation stay out of politics?
7. What is included in the spoils of office?
8. Who are the purchasable voters?
9. Why is a false issue always necessary?
10. What share does each of the corrupt forces undertake in carrying elections in their own interests?
11. Why do they pool their interests?
12. Why will not these same forces prevail under Socialism?
13. How can the Socialist party, better than any other party, meet these forces in a local city election, while capitalism continues to rule the state and nation?

CHAPTER XXXVII

UNJUST TAXATION AND SOCIALISM

689. Justice in Taxation Impossible.—Taxation is an old subject, is always the subject of controversy, and its discussion is always characterized by charges of corruption; and yet not all of the difficulties connected with the subject of taxation under capitalism are to be attributed to the corruption of public officials or the dishonesty of the tax payers. (See Chapter XXXVI for tax-dodging as a cause of municipal corruption.) Assessments are ordinarily by townships, sometimes by counties. Assessments are always supposed to be made for less than the actual cash value. Boards of review, in attempting to readjust the work of different assessors, must do so largely without personal knowledge of the facts involved. State boards of equalization usually have the power to raise or lower all assessments in a given county, but not to enter into the matter of differences in the valuations as made by the various assessors within the counties. For many years in Chicago, if the original assessment had been fairly made in any particular case, the final equalization by the state board would have raised the amount of the taxes in that case to such a rate as to more than absorb the annual property value. In that

city the only way that the individual taxpayer can protect himself from the confiscation of his property by taxation is to make untruthful representations as to the value of the property at the time the assessment is made. All assessments for personal property are likely to be mere guesses, and again, result, in many cases, in the greatest injustice even when the assessor is doing his best.

690. Indirect Taxation.—Indirect taxes, as tariff and internal revenue charges, are always unfair, inasmuch as it proportions the public burden upon the proportion of consumption of certain articles rather than on property values. It would be hard to find a reason why a man who uses tobacco should be required to pay more taxes than one who does not. It would be hard to find a reason why people should be required to pay taxes at a time and in a manner which makes it impossible for them to determine what share of their payments may be properly figured as living expenses and what share as taxes.

These difficulties are inherent in capitalism, and no kind of tax reform can be devised so long as capitalism remains that will prevent injustice being done even when public officials are doing their best.

691. Property Which Can Be Hidden.—There are three kinds of property subject to assessment; the one, property which is easily hidden, such as securities, bonds, diamonds, jewelry and other personal belongings. This property rarely pays taxes. The tax roll of any great city will reveal how absurd is the idea of supposing that property subject to assessment and capable of being hidden pays any just share of the burdens of taxation. For the practical purposes of this discussion we may admit that property which can be hidden escapes taxation.

692. Cannot Be Hidden—Held in Small Holdings.—

Next, is the property which cannot be hidden, but is owned in such small holdings that the owners cannot afford to take the time and incur the expense necessary to control the assessor, the equalization boards, or whatever public authority may for an inducement neglect to collect or remit without collecting taxes once assessed. Such properties include the teams and wagons of expressmen, the stocks of goods of small merchants, the tools of small shops, the homes of the poor, real estate held in small amounts, and all ordinary farming property. The owners of such property are rarely able to control the assessor and the boards who have authority to review the work of the assessor. The burden of taxation falls upon such properties and they have no means of escape.

693. Cannot Be Hidden—Held in Large Holdings.

—The third and last class which we consider is property which cannot be hidden, but is held by corporations, or by private parties, with the holdings sufficiently large to enable the owners to make it pay to give attention to securing control of the assessor and of all other public officers in any way connected with the subject of taxation. They cannot hide their property, but they can elect a clerk, or a personal dependent, or a member of the corporation to be the assessor, or, as a notorious tax dodger recently remarked, "Even when the assessments have been made, it is one thing to assess and another thing to collect, with the great corporations so largely in control of the courts." Railways, street car companies, great department stores, great manufacturing establishments, mining corporations, great industrial organizations of all sorts usually maintain a special department devoted exclusively to the subject of avoiding the payment of taxes.¹

1. "I have studied autocracy in Russia and theocracy in Rome, and I must say that nowhere, not even in Russia, in the first years of the

As long as the corporations control,—and as long as capitalism lasts the corporations must control,—so long the great properties will escape their just share of the public burden, and the small properties will pay the cost of maintaining the state, whose authority will be constantly used by the large enterprises in the process of destroying the small ones. And, again, so long as capitalism lasts it will be impossible to devise any systems of assessment, and scheme of taxation which will protect the man whose enterprise is too small to make it possible for him to control the assessor, against the enterprise which is so large that it cannot afford not to control the assessor.²

694. Public Charges Under Socialism.—The coming of Socialism will abolish all this, for under Socialism it is inconceivable that society would consent to any system of taxation. The keeping of the public accounts and any services which may be found necessary as a means of adjusting disputes of such a nature as to call for public attention, would be masters of the public's business. The cost of doing these things would be a part of the cost of production. Instead of the gross products of particular workers being distributed to them from the public stores, and then another depart-

reaction occasioned by the murder of the late czar, have I struck more abject submission to a more soulless despotism than that which prevails among the masses of the so-called free American citizens, when they are face to face with the omnipotent power of corporations."—Stead: *If Christ Came to Chicago*, Quoted in Lorimer's *Christianity and the Social State*, p. 203. See also p. 204.

2. "But thoroughgoing Socialism or Collectivism would probably deny that any limit upon the tax power is justifiable which stops short of the proximate realization of their distributive ideal. It is right here that the sociological side of finance becomes of prime importance. The present constitution of private property has been challenged. Whether this institution can or ought to be changed, if so to what degree: whether the distribution of the social dividend can be effected upon another basis than the present one—these are the points of contact between collectivism and the industrial constitution of modern society. In short, the battlefield where Socialism will not improbably assail the conservative forces of society lies within the domain of finance."—Daniels: *Public Finance*, p. 6.

ment of public service created to inquire after personal possessions, and to levy taxes for public purposes, any public expense necessary for the public welfare, under any possible system of co-operative production, would be directly provided for by the collectivity before distribution to the various workers would be made. Such expenditures would be of the same nature as charges for fuel, for light, for oil, for machinery, for repairs on the tools of production, and would be a part of the running expenses, a part of the cost of carrying on the industrial co-operative commonwealth. These services being a part of the work of production, the persons performing these services would be rewarded like other producers, not by levying a tax upon any or all, but by directly using such a share of the social products as would be necessary for such social purposes.

695. Taxation Under a Local Socialist Administration.—What effect will the victory of the Socialist party have in any particular locality on the subject of taxation, in that locality, before a general national victory shall make possible the inauguration of Socialism? The most careless examination of the tax assessments in any community will reveal that great injustice is being wrought under capitalism against those who, if they own property, own it largely, not for the purpose of exploiting others, but for the purpose of occupying it as their homes, or for the purpose of using it in the employment of their own labor; and this wrong is done by the great properties which exist solely for purposes of exploitation.

It is sometimes claimed that a Socialist victory, in any given town, would immediately raise the tax rate. If the rate of assessment were left at the current rate and the large properties fairly assessed at that rate, the public income would be enormously increased. As

a matter of fact, Socialist assessors have been able to greatly reduce the rate of assessment and at the same time greatly increase the public income. This brings relief, rather than distress, to the small tax payer. In other words, the most rational result of such a Socialist victory would be to make a much harder hunt for hidden property, that it might be subjected to taxation, and so far as possible, to adjust the assessments so as to prevent the millionaire tax dodgers from corruptly using the power of public office to shift the burdens of taxation from themselves upon those less able than themselves to pay. Either the Socialist administration would directly, dishonestly and discriminately work against the poorer man and in behalf of the great corporations, as the present assessors do, or else such relief for the poorer people, and such an increase of public income must follow a local Socialist victory.

696. Oppressive Taxation and Socialism.—It is claimed, too, that if the Socialists were permitted to administer the affairs of any given municipality that they would so increase the tax assessment as to directly destroy all property value. As soon as Socialism can be inaugurated, the Socialists, whatever plans may be adopted for meeting necessary public charges, will in all probability abolish the assessor's office, and all schemes of taxation which attempt to collect back from the people any share of that which is admitted to belong to them as individuals. But until Socialism is inaugurated the Socialist party, in any given locality, could not, even if it would, very greatly increase the rate of assessment, for the reason that whatever the Socialists would undertake would be subject to the review of the courts, and the state and federal judges would not be answerable to the Socialists. Suppose a given city should be carried by the Socialist party and an assessment should be levied by the Socialists which

would amount to the confiscation of property values, then citizens of other states through the federal courts could and would restrain a proceeding of that sort. The taxing power, exercised by local Socialist administrations, so long as capitalism lasts, must be exercised in such a way as not to lay themselves liable for having attempted anything which, under the rules of capitalism, could be construed to be a violation of property rights, by a state or federal court directly opposed to the position of the Socialists. Whenever the Socialists have the power to control the courts, they would also have power to abolish capitalism and the whole scheme of taxation along with capitalism.

On the other hand, a Socialist administration, in the nature of the case, having been put into power locally by the votes of working men, would naturally increase the school funds, enlarge the sanitary expenditures, and in every way make whatever funds were available, under such taxation as they would be able to enforce, render the greatest possible service to the working people.

697. Who Pays the Taxes?—The question as to who pays the taxes, that is, whether the taxes are a part of the sums which in the distribution of the products of labor have been used in the payment of wages or rent or interest or profit, is not a question of such serious importance as it has sometimes been held to be. Admitting that the iron law of wages rules, then taxes cannot be collected from that bare subsistence of the worker, and must come from the share of the product which has fallen to the exploiters. But taxes may be one of the items of the expense of living. Thus the landlord pays taxes and collects rents. Unless his rents cover what he pays for taxes his enterprise will not be profitable to him. The working man in paying rent pays taxes and the taxes so paid must come from

his wages or the share of his rent which goes for taxes is a share of the products of the worker which falls to him under the iron law of wages. It is not in point to say that the workers must pay the taxes because the workers create all wealth. There is no question about the workers creating all wealth; the question is whether the share of wealth so created which goes for taxes comes from the share which falls to the workers as wages, or from the share which falls to the exploiter, either as rent, interest or profit. And the point in this discussion is that if the workers do not pay the taxes they cannot be interested in the just assessment and honest collection of the taxes.

698. Equalization of Collective Burdens.—It has been seen above that under Socialism necessary public expenses will be equally and easily borne by all producers. As long as capitalism remains no solution of the tax problem can produce such results. But the triumph of the Socialist party in any given city will come nearer accomplishing such a result than any other program which can be undertaken under capitalism, and so far as such working people as teamsters, expressmen, small shopkeepers, the owners of small shops and small farms are concerned the local triumph of the Socialist party will directly relieve all such people from the corrupt and unjust administration of the taxing power. While it will lessen their rates of taxation, it will increase the public income from the present tax dodgers and administer this income for the direct benefit of all the working people.

The fact is that the share of the products which falls to the payment of wages or interest or rent or profit is never a fixed and invariable proportion. All of the parties to the distribution of the products of labor under capitalism are constantly striving to enlarge the share which falls to them. The corrupt administration

of the taxing power is one of the means by which the millionaire exploiter increases the share which falls to him, while he lessens the public income available for such public purposes as would most directly benefit the working class.

699. Big and Little Tax Payers.—It is a mistake to suppose that the Socialist, locally in power, but under capitalism, has any quarrel with the tax payer who owns property which he cannot hide and in such small holdings that he cannot afford to own the assessor also. When Socialism comes such people will never again be called on to bear more than their share of the common burden for the common needs of society. Until Socialism comes, the Socialist party, being in control in any city or in any state and not in the nation, will never be able to assess and to collect taxes on all property at a rate in excess of what the poorer people are paying now, and the immediate effect of a local victory will be to lessen rather than to increase the poor man's share.

There is no ground for reasonable controversy between the working man who lives in his own cottage and another working man who lives in a hired house on this subject of taxation. A local Socialist victory cannot add to the burdens of either, and must increase the public income from the enemy of both and to the direct benefit of both.

700. Summary.—1. Under capitalism taxation is necessarily unjust, even when public officials are not corrupt.

2. Under capitalism the business interests benefited by a corrupt administration of the taxing power are so great that only by the destruction of capitalism itself can their power to corrupt taxation be overthrown.

3. Under Socialism no system of taxation involving a search for hidden goods, or for making assessments

under the influence of great private interests will be necessary.

4. The control of the public authorities by Socialists in any locality will be distinctly in the interest of the most just administration of the taxing power possible under capitalism. It will naturally lower the rate and at the same time increase the public income, while it will control expenditures directly in behalf of the working people.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Why cannot justice in taxation be established under capitalism?
2. Why is all indirect taxation unjust?
3. How and what kinds of property usually escape taxation?
4. Why cannot small properties escape taxes?
5. How do large properties escape the payment of taxes?
6. How would Socialism affect the subject of taxation?
7. How would a local Socialist administration, while the state and nation remained under capitalism, affect the subject of taxation?
8. Would the Socialists, if given local control, adopt oppressive measures of taxation under a general reign of capitalism?
9. Who pays the taxes under capitalism?
10. Who is most injured by the tax dodger?
11. Does tax dodging injure the working man?
12. Can Socialism equalize collective burdens?
13. Will a local Socialist administration be likely to discriminate against small property holders in the matter of taxes in the same way as is now done?

CHAPTER XXXVIII

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND SOCIALISM

701. The Collective Public.—Public ownership is frequently spoken of as if it were Socialism. If the word “public” be properly understood, or if the word “government” be made to mean the same thing, then public ownership, or government ownership, that is, collective ownership, is a part of the Socialist program. But there may be public ownership under capitalism with no Socialism, and with no part of Socialism.¹

702. Collective Ownership.—On the other hand, it is impossible to have Socialism without collective ownership of the means of production, so far as they are

1. “There is no completion of the Socialist theory until industry is so managed by the community that interest, rent and profit are ‘socialized’—are turned from private into public possessions. It is the Socialist’s faith that, until this is done, a portion of what labor earns will go to those who have given no equivalent for it. To restore this unearned income to the whole people, the means of production—land and machinery—must pass to social ownership. The conservative cry against all this is that ‘it destroys private property.’ If it were charged that certain forms of private property would be destroyed, the criticism is just. There is in theory no destruction of private property further than that involved in these ‘three rents.’ [See Chapter 28.] A hundred forms of property (slaves, highways, toll-bridges) have changed and must change with advancing civilization. Communism in all its extremes destroys private property outright. Socialism safeguards it to the extent of giving absolute rights to the individual over all products that he can hold for consumption.”—Brooks: *Social Unrest*, pp. 278-279.

collectively used. The state of Kansas publicly owns a binding twine factory, but the binding twine trust privately owns all the raw material which the Kansas factory must use in order to produce binding twine. The result is that the state of Kansas has made a contract with the binding twine trust to buy all of its raw material from the trust,—and to sell all of its product to the trust. Here is an instance of public ownership which simply results in furnishing a factory for the free use of the binding twine trust, together with cheap labor, inasmuch as the factory is a part of the industrial equipment of the state penitentiary. While this is public ownership, it is not Socialism. Street car lines, railways, and postoffices, where owned and operated by the government, have nothing of democracy in their administration, or of equality of opportunity to become workers, which are essential features of the Socialist program. So long as the government is administered by a political party controlled by the capitalists, any industries administered by such a government cannot in any way be said to be either examples of Socialism or steps toward Socialism.

703. Bismarck.—The shrewdest and most powerful individual antagonist Socialism has yet had was Bismarck. He successfully urged the Prussian government to purchase all the railways in Prussia, and the process was begun in 1879. This sample of the tactics of Bismarck while battling against Socialism at least was not intended as a step towards Socialism.

704. Free Rides and Rents and Wages.—There are three groups of capitalists doing business in a great city. One owns the shops; another owns large blocks of tenement houses, and a third owns the street railways. For the general public to combine with the owners of the shops at one end of the line, and with the owners of the tenement houses at the other end of the

line to secure public ownership of the street railways, connecting the shops and the tenement houses, will not greatly benefit the public. What the people save in fares will be added to their rents at one end of the line, or taken from their wages at the other. Such public ownership is neither Socialism nor a step toward Socialism, if this language is understood to mean that it is in any way an illustration of the operation of what the Socialists propose.

705. A Concession in the Argument.—On the other hand, it may be said to be a concession to the Socialist's argument, and, indirectly, while in no way an example of Socialism, may tend to strengthen the proposals of the Socialists in the public mind. It suggests the socialization of productive property. In such a sense it is a step toward Socialism.

706. A Step in Evolution.—Socialism involves the organization, centralization and more perfect equipment of industry, together with collective ownership, democratic management, and equal opportunity. The work of organization, concentration and the perfection of the equipment essential to the inauguration of the co-operative commonwealth is being carried on under capitalism by the initiative of the capitalists themselves, under the necessary operation of economic laws. The process would continue without the support and even with the opposition of the Socialists.²

707. An Important Admission.—The principle of collective ownership has so far been the point of the main controversy between the supporters of Socialism and the defenders of Capitalism. Every time the public goes into the gas business, into building electric

2. "When railroads were first introduced, people's minds revolted against the monopoly of transportation thereby involved. Statutes were devised to make the track free for the use of different carriers, as the public highway is free to the owners of different wagons. But the economy of having all trains controlled by a single owner was soon apparent.

light plants, or power houses, or public ditches, or reservoirs, or in any way becomes a part owner in any of the great industrial plants of the world, the principle of collective ownership is conceded, and the Socialist side of the argument is thus strengthened in the public mind. In that sense, public ownership, while it is denied to be a step in the inauguration of Socialism, is a step in the abandonment of what has so far been the ground of the principal argument against Socialism.

708. Some Advantages.—It is not to be denied that the public in the long run is a better employer than the private corporation. Shorter hours, greater security of employment and better rates of wages are advantages which may be secured under public ownership for small portions of the workers. But none of these can result, except in the most indirect and roundabout way, in a general elevation of the working class; and none of them in any way affect, unless it be injuriously, the question of the industrial emancipation of the workers, that is, the making of their hours of labor, the distribution of their products and the security of their employment subject to the control of the workers themselves.

709. Public Ownership of the Means of Producing the Means of Life.—Again, it should be noticed that public ownership has so far been proposed only for means of communication or of transportation or of some public necessity of the most general use, but **not** as a rule seriously affecting the problem of subsistence,

Then laws were passed compelling competition among owners of separate roads. * * * Laws against pools, traffic associations, etc., followed. * * * Many of these laws were failures from the outset; others have hastened consolidation to a point beyond the reach of special law; others did positive harm. * * * The majority of thinking men have come to the conclusion that railroads are in some sense a natural monopoly and have classed them with water-works, gas-works and other 'quasi public' lines of business, as an exception to the general rule of free competition."—Hadley: *Education of an American Citizen*, p. 42.

especially for the more poorly paid of the working class. The enterprises of Glasgow have been most widely mentioned as instances of public ownership, but public ownership in Glasgow has not attempted the public ownership of any of the principal means of producing the means of life. Public ownership, so far, has everywhere kept away from the public ownership of the raw materials, and the great machines, jointly used, as the means of producing the means of life. But public ownership, even under democratic management by the workers employed, undertaken in the administration of recognized public utilities, but to the exclusion of all enterprises directly engaged in producing the means of life, would still condemn a part of the workers to the petty tyranny of the private boss and subject all of the workers to the exploitation of the private capitalist controlling the privately produced necessities of life.

710. Industrial Democracy.—Public ownership nowhere proposes to provide for the self-employment and self-direction of all the workers. At this point lies the most radical difference between all schemes for public ownership and Socialism. The one attempts to organize a business, to hire its labor in the market, to subject it to the discipline of a boss in the employment of whom the workers have no voice, and by civil service examinations, to provide “jobs” only for those who are best able to survive without them.

Socialism, on the other hand, will not undertake to organize the workers for the sake of an industry, but to organize and equip all the great industries for the sake of the workers, and especially and primarily those industries most directly connected with the production of the means of life. This will be done, not with the view to employing only the picked and most efficient of the workers, but of giving equal opportunity to all

men and women to become workers if they shall so choose.

711. Summary.—1. Public ownership is not Socialism.

2. Public ownership is not a part of Socialism unless “public” means the whole body of the people and ownership is to carry with it democratic management and equal opportunity and is extended to include all the means of producing the means of life so far as they are collectively used.

3. Every case of public ownership is a concession in the argument for Socialism.

4. The evolution of capitalism naturally passes through organization, centralization of management, perfection of equipment, and into public ownership with or without the support of the Socialists.

5. Public ownership as commonly proposed keeps clear of the means of producing the means of life and in no way interferes with exploitation nor delivers the workers from boss rule.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Show that public ownership is not Socialism.
2. Illustrate by the Kansas twine factory.
3. Is public ownership a step towards Socialism, as giving an example of Socialism? Explain.
4. Show how a publicly owned street railway could operate without bringing advantage to the working people.
5. What has been the principal point of contention regarding Socialism?
6. How does public ownership affect this argument?
7. Name some advantages of public ownership.
8. Show that they fall short of Socialism. Show that public ownership does not involve the overthrow of the wage system.
9. Why is exploitation possible under the public ownership of the recognized “public utilities”?
10. In what way will the employment of labor under Socialism necessarily differ from its employment under public ownership while capitalism remains?

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE CIVIL SERVICE AND SOCIALISM

712. "The Coming Slavery."—Herbert Spencer, writing of what he conceived to be Socialism, warns the public against what he called "The Coming Slavery." It is not infrequently said that Socialism will put everybody into the public service, will necessarily lower the efficiency of the public service, and make of all the voters uniformed government dependents.

713. The Civil Service.—The civil service now consists of the employes in the postoffice, the various departmental branches of service at Washington, the public school teachers, the police department, the fire department and the clerical workers in all branches of government service. Where the public authorities undertake public improvements, without the intervention of the contractor, the workers in these departments may also be added to the civil service list.

714. Self-Governing Service.—It is the purpose of this chapter to show that Socialism, instead of bringing all citizens into the uniformed, organized, disciplined and dependent relations of the employes now in the civil service, will deliver even those now so employed to the full privilege of citizenship, not to a citizenship of the sort which the other workers now have, but to a citizenship which will completely enfranchise

both them and all other workers in all matters of common concern.

715. Postoffice Employees and the President.—The President of the United States recently issued an order that no employe in the postal department should ask for an increase of pay, shortening of hours, or in any way undertake to secure an improvement of his condition as a worker, and he accompanied this order with the further order that any such employe so attempting to secure such changes in his own behalf should be dismissed from the service. The Mail Carriers' Association is not permitted to participate with other labor organizations in attempting to secure an improvement of the general conditions of the average working man; activity in politics is forbidden; instead of the public employe having any voice in the direct management of the work in which he is engaged, he is especially forbidden to attempt, even indirectly, to control that employment by exercising his rights as an American citizen by an active participation in partisan politics. Promotions are not the result of effective service, the service to be determined by the workers themselves, but are the result of examinations or of records of service as determined by superintendents or heads of departments who are in no way answerable to the workers.

716. Limited Employment.—Only the picked men are given employment. Competitive examinations are relied upon, not to provide employment for all or for all those qualified, but only for the most efficient.

717. The Incompetent and the Employed.—Some years ago (1888) the writer of these pages was engaged for some time in an effort to promote a movement which was then quite widely considered by labor organizations and others for the organization of a political party whose platform should be Public Owner-

ship, particularly of the railways. It was in this effort, and in the further study of the problems connected with this purpose, that the author discovered its necessary limitations, and how practically valueless public ownership is as a source of relief for working people. It was during the time that he was so engaged, however, that, on the occasion of an interview with a distinguished jurist, the jurist objected to public ownership on the ground that the first task must be to improve the civil service regulations and that public ownership could be considered afterwards; "because," said he, "along with public ownership would come the demand of every Tom, Dick and Harry for a public job." The writer asked in reply for some good and sufficient reason why Tom, Dick and Harry should be prevented from having a job. The answer has never been given. So long as the civil service is organized to employ a part of the workers, and these have no voice in the management of their own labor, it may be well presented as an evil to be avoided, but it is an evil which exists under capitalism, and which will cease to exist after the inauguration of Socialism.

718. Self-Employment for All.—The civil service, if it may be said to exist at all under Socialism, will simply be the whole body of the people, organizing themselves for the most effective employment of social labor power in the processes of social production and distribution. There will be no competitive examinations to determine who shall be in and who shall be out. The general struggle which now goes on for a place in the public service will cease utterly when all workers are provided the most productive employment in which it is possible for them to be employed.

719. Self-Government by All.—Whatever forms of organization may prevail, promotions will no longer be made by those in no way responsible to the workers;

promotions in the service will be made only as the result of efficiency in the service. It will hardly be by a set examination to determine who is the best speller in order to secure an appointment in the fire department. Promotions could take place only as the result of effective service and at the hands of fellow-workers, with whom the service had been rendered. The efficiency of the industrial organization, the perfection of the service and the liberty of the social producers under their own government would be complete. Intriguing and scheming for promotion, seeking to secure the good will of an absent employer by tale-bearing, misrepresentations, and conniving to secure the discredit and dismissal of immediate superiors will utterly disappear, because no tale-bearing will be necessary to inform "the powers that be," when the "powers that be" are one's associates in the same industry, and are ever present at the same tasks, rather than an absent and supposed superior, with power to elevate one and disgrace another, not because of his knowledge but because of the power which private ownership in industry makes possible.

720. Loss of Self-Control.—If it be claimed that such democracy in industry is not practicable, because the workers are not now capable of self-government, then, the answer is that if this is true, it is the fault of capitalism. A hundred years ago, whatever industries were carried on in the old household method of production were managed by the people who themselves did the work. There were no whistles to call them to their tasks; no walking bosses, no foremen to hold them busily to their undertakings. The spinning and weaving and other industries carried on by the women were subject to their own management, and the product was large or small, according to their own self-directed industry. The same was true throughout prac-

tically all of the employments of one hundred years ago. If the workers of to-day are incapable of setting themselves to work, it is because of lack of experience in doing so under capitalism; it is therefore the fault of capitalism, and if for no other reason, capitalism ought to be abandoned in order that the workers, by actual practice in the direction of their own industry, may again be restored to the power of self-possession and self-direction.

721. More Democracy.—De Tocqueville said one hundred years ago, in discussing “American Institutions,” that there are evils of democracy, but that “the only remedy for the evils of the democracy is more democracy.” The workers can never be made free men until they are given the power of self-direction in their daily tasks. This they can never have under capitalism.

722. The Current Slavery.—Mr. Spencer was quite correct in warning the people against the coming slavery, only he located his slavery in the wrong place. Capitalism is making of all workers dependent hired men and hired girls, with no voice in the management of the enterprises in which they are wearing out their lives. This is certainly a coming slavery, which for most of the workers has already arrived.¹ The way out is not in opposition to Socialism, but in the overthrow of capitalism and the inauguration of the co-operative commonwealth.

723. Management by the Competent.—It is unreasonable to affirm that those who are doing the work

1. “Let me state what I conceive to be the essential characteristics of Human Slavery:

“1. Wherever certain human beings devote their time and thoughts mainly to obeying and serving other human beings, and this not because they choose to do so, but because they must, there (I think) is Slavery.

“2. Wherever human beings exist in such relations that a part, because of the position they occupy and the functions they perform,

know less about it than those who are not so engaged. It is unreasonable to affirm that those who are present at any task know less about it than those who are absent. It is unreasonable to affirm that the interests of an absent boss in securing profits would be greater, and would operate to secure a greater efficiency in the control of industry than would be the interest of the workers, when all of the products would be their own, and the neglect, or carelessness, or incompetence of any worker would be a direct injury and offense against all of his shop-mates working at his side.

724. The Dismissal of the Shop Spy.—It is true that in the modern factory each worker inclines to protect each other worker in all these wrongs, neglects and injuries to the enterprise in which they are engaged. In the very nature of the case, if the absent master is to know, he must fill the ranks with spies, and the task of the spy will be regarded with contempt. Not so when the workers are engaged in their own task in securing, for the effort made, the largest possible returns. Then each will be directly and per-

are generally considered an inferior class to those who perform other functions, or none, there (I think) is Slavery.

"3. Wherever the ownership of the soil is so engrossed by a small part of the community that the far larger number are compelled to pay whatever the few may see fit to exact for the privilege of occupying and cultivating the earth, there is something very like Slavery.

"4. Wherever opportunity to labor is obtained with difficulty, and is so deficient that the employing class may virtually prescribe their own terms and pay the laborer only such share as they choose of the product, there is a very strong tendency to Slavery.

"5. Wherever it is deemed more reputable to live without labor than by labor, so that 'a gentleman' would be rather ashamed of his descent from a blacksmith than from an idler or mere pleasure seeker, there is a community not very far from Slavery. And,

"6. Wherever one human being deems it honorable and right to have other human beings mainly devoted to his or her convenience or comfort, and thus to live, diverting the labor of these persons from all productive or general usefulness to his or her own special uses, while he or she is rendering or has rendered no corresponding service to the cause of human well-being, there exists the spirit which originated and still sustains Human Slavery."—Horace Greeley: In a letter to National Convention of Abolitionists at Cincinnati, Ohio, June 3, 1845.

sonally interested by instruction, by encouragement, by mutual help, and by personal sacrifice to contribute to the utmost to the efficiency of all.

725. Just and Rational Promotion.—An inefficient foreman would not be possible; he would not for an hour be tolerated by the workers,—whose income under Socialism would depend in part on the efficiency of their foremen. It would be to the economic interest of every man in the department to select the best possible foremen. His selection and promotion would be inevitable. The self-seeking working man, attempting to disarrange an effective organization for personal advantage, could not exist. He could secure no advantage in such a way, and if he could he would be covered with contempt. Promotion, in the nature of the case, would be for merit only, and no promotion could ever make one worker the arbitrary master of another. The arbitrary discipline, the uniform, the military tactics, the system of spies, the struggle for place, the disfranchisement of public servants, these and every other wrong under the present public service will disappear under Socialism, for whatever the method of organization or of management under the co-operative commonwealth, relations of mastery and servitude and of economic dependence will utterly disappear.

726. Summary.—1. Workers in the public service are now taken from the labor market, employed under a boss in whose election they have no voice, and work under rules in the establishment of which they are not consulted.

2. Public employes, under capitalism, compete with other workers for employment and are led to consent to conditions to which they would not submit were it not for the army of the unemployed, or the more poorly

employed, who are waiting to take their places from them.

3. The uniform, the arbitrary discipline, the military tactics, the system of spies, the struggle for place, together with the whole relationship of mastery and servitude, will disappear from the public service on the coming of Socialism.

4. Under Socialism self-employment, self-government, management by the competent, together with just and rational promotion, will prevail in all industrial, or other collective employments now subject to either public or private control.

5. Socialism is not a "coming slavery," it is the industrial emancipation of all the slaves.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. What is feared by those who speak of the "coming slavery"?
2. What is meant by the civil service?
3. What relation does the civil service worker sustain to his "superior"?
4. What are the usual conditions of employment?
5. What would be the difference between employment by the government and self-employment under Socialism?
6. Are the workers capable of carrying on self-government in the shops? Explain.
7. What is the best remedy for the evils of democracy? Explain.
8. Would Socialism mean management by the competent? Explain.
9. What would become of the shop spy on the coming of Socialism? Why?
10. Would the incapable be promoted under Socialism? Why?

CHAPTER XL

STATUS OF WOMAN AND SOCIALISM

727. Disfranchised Women.—The political disfranchisement of woman is an incident in the economic development of the world's life.

728. Economic Dependence.—Economic dependence always involves inferiority of political power.¹ This is as true of men as of women. In primitive society women were not the economic dependents of men, neither were they without voice in the management of their own industry. The earliest division of labor, as well as the earliest social organization, was effected along sex lines, not because of the brutality of men, nor because of any natural dependence of women upon men, either for their sustenance or for their defense.

729. Primitive Self-Government.—The building of

1. "As woman becomes more free in the use and ownership of wealth, her freedom in selecting her mate is greater. She has never been without the desire for exclusive ownership of all the affections of her husband. Her mental capacity in that respect has always been equal to that of the man. In the moral estimation of woman, whether she be slave or free, polygamy has always been wrong. But her desires have not always been consulted. Her capacity for exclusive possession has not been left perfectly free to act. Her freedom in this respect is enlarging, truly, but this fact is the result of the larger economic liberties she is rapidly acquiring. It needs no argument to establish the truth of the simple fact that if a woman be rich she will have a wider choice of mates than if she is forced to rely upon the labor of a man for her livelihood."—Lane: *The Level of Social Motion*, p. 544.

the first fires required that some one should stay by the fires to keep them alive because of the very great difficulty of re-kindling them when once the fires were gone out. The very great difficulty of woman, with her suckling young, going on the long tramps on the fishing excursions, naturally assigned to the men the task of catching the fish, and to the women the task of "keeping the fire," but the women were as free, as independent, as self-possessed, and as thoroughly the masters of the industries which they built up around the fires as were the men on their fishing excursions. Throughout the later periods of savagery, and throughout all the years of barbarism, the women organized their industries, developed their tools, managed their gardens, their firesides, their domestic manufacturing enterprises, and their voice was supreme in all these matters.

730. The Soldier and the Master.—It has been seen, in Chapter IV, how the fishermen grew to be hunters; how the hunters finally became soldiers; how the soldiers finally brought home their captives to make slaves of them; how industry ceased to be the work of women and became the work of slaves; and how the military masters who governed the military camps and directed the activity of the soldiers also controlled the slave camps, and so, at last, became the masters of the industries which throughout the period of savagery and barbarism had been the special field of the free, self-governing activity of women. Under the military organization of industry, which came with the institution of chattel slavery, the women either became slaves along with the other workers, or the pets and playthings of the military masters.

731. Voting Instead of Fighting.—When the franchise was finally given, the voting was a substitute for fighting. The women were not in the army, and solely

because they were no share of the military establishments of the world they were not given votes, not because of the selfishness or brutality of the soldiers, but simply because they were not present, and, therefore, not considered.

732. Limited Franchise of Working Men.—The elective franchise has been given but slowly to the men who are workers. In no country are the workers permitted to vote purely in consideration of the fact that they are human beings, with only such restrictions as could guard the public against misrepresentations and fraud. A very large percentage of the voters in the United States are not able to vote on election days because of requirements of residence and other considerations, not essential to protecting the public against fraud, and in no other country is the franchise so universal. In most modern states, some share of the workers, and in many of them a large share, are permitted to vote, but their right to vote is limited to the electing of certain officers to political positions, and is so exercised as to make the disfranchisement of the men in all matters relating directly to the control of the great industries, by which they produce their living, as absolute in the case of men as it is in the case of women.

733. Disfranchised at the Shops.—In no country does the worker have any voice as a voter in determining his hours of labor, the rate of his speed, the share of the product which shall fall to him, nor in any way a voice in the control of the industries in which he earns his living. He may vote for candidates for electors, who in turn vote for the president, who in turn may appoint the postmasters, but industrially he is disfranchised: The shops, mines, factories, trains, all can be stopped or “shut down” and he be starved, yet he has no vote in the matter; the general superintend-

ent, the division superintendent, the local superintendent, the department foreman, the section boss the mine boss,—all these are selected in utter defiance of the wishes of the millions of the politically enfranchised toilers. This is an industrial despotism within a political democracy.

734. Socialists and Equal Suffrage.—The Socialists are everywhere in favor of universal suffrage, and that this shall apply to the women as well as to the men. But it is of more importance to both men and women that the franchise shall be extended to their economic interests than that they shall even be voters at all, if they are still to be disfranchised in all of the undertakings related to the struggle for the means of life. The political franchise which working men have, is of but little value to them except as a means of securing the industrial franchise which they ought to have.

735. Self-Government of the Women at Work.—The women who are factory workers and shop girls will completely transform their relations to industry so soon as they are enfranchised, not only at the ballot box, in voting for men who vote for other men, who appoint the postmaster, but in voting directly and on all the details of the organization and management of their own employment.²

736. Equal Industrial and Political Rights for All.—The relations of the equal and universal suffrage campaign to the Socialist movement are of the greatest importance. In most countries the workers are

2. "But the most impressive instance of waste takes place in what we may call the woman power of the community. More of it is due to poverty than is the case with men; for if parents have to choose between spending money on a son or a daughter, it is invariably the son who is preferred. But still more is due to the prejudice which considers it either unnecessary or undesirable to cultivate a woman's power, a prejudice which is only very gradually breaking down. And the harm that is done to the community by this particular branch of waste is of

still fighting for the opportunity to be heard at the ballot box. The elective franchise can never be extended to those who are not permitted to vote at all, and extended for those who are now voters in some matters, so that all shall be given an equal voice in the management of all common interests, by any other means than by using to the utmost such political power as the workers now have. It is a principle in evolution that an effort of any organism to function in any particular way is the process by which new organs are developed and perfected. The only means by which the workers, either men or women, can hope to extend their political and economic power is by using to the uttermost the power which they already possess. The fact that the workers cannot vote at the factory door is a reason why they should be all the more careful to vote, and always to vote for themselves, at the ballot box. The political power of the working class will grow, only as the working class exercises to the uttermost the political power which it already possesses.

737. Women in Politics.—All of the days of the year, except election day, the personal influence, the voice, the power to tell and to persuade is as much the right of women as it is of men. Those who wish to extend the voice of womanhood to the ballot box will secure the right to speak through the ballot box most speedily and effectively by speaking in every other way, in spite of their exclusion from the ballot box, and in spite of the legal discriminations against woman which so far prevail in most of the modern states.

a kind to multiply itself indefinitely. The lack of training to skilled work reacts upon the physical condition of the women, both through the exhausting nature of the rough work which they are forced to do, and from their inability to earn sufficient to keep themselves strong; and this physical injury tells inevitably upon the strength of the next generation. From a business point of view no form of waste could be so bad as this, and there is none which is so considerable at the present day.”—Basanquet: *The Strength of the People*, p. 67.

738. Industrial Emancipation.—There is no field where political activity on the part of woman can count so much for her enfranchisement as in her work for the economic rights of the toilers everywhere and particularly for the economic rights of women and children. If the working women everywhere will join in the fight for their own industrial emancipation, they will accomplish most for their own political enfranchisement.

739. Summary.—1. The disfranchisement of women is an inheritance from barbarian war.

2. The enfranchisement of men is only partial, for neither men nor women are given any voice in the management of the industries where they are employed.

3. The Socialists alone contend for the complete enfranchisement of all men and women with equal political and industrial rights for all.

4. For both men and women the speediest way to increase their rights either at the ballot box or at the shop is to use to the uttermost all of the political rights or powers which they at any time possess.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Why are women disfranchised?
2. Why does economic dependence always involve political inferiority?
3. Under what conditions have women had full possession of their own affairs?
4. How did women become the economic dependents of the men?
5. What was the earliest meaning of the elective franchise?
6. Are the men fully enfranchised with all just industrial rights?
7. How would self-government on the part of all workers affect the employments of women?
8. How would economic independence on the part of all women affect the strength of motherhood? Quote note from Basanquet.
9. In what way can both men and women most effectively extend their political power?

CHAPTER XLI

THE RACE PROBLEM AND SOCIALISM

740. Its Importance.—The race problem is a real problem and a most difficult one. The problem is not solved by denying its existence or by belittling its importance.

741. The Chinese Question.—The Chinese civilization is very ancient. Chinese labor coming into competition, in the world labor market, with the labor of more modern and more progressive nations, places the Caucasian worker in a position where he must yield his opportunity to live at all, or consent to live according to the standard of living accepted by his Mongolian competitors.

742. The Negro Question.—The black race either exists in Africa as savages or barbarians, or, as a rule, in other countries as the children of kidnaped savages, with no further knowledge of civilization nor opportunity to develop from the status of savagery to the status of civilized society than has been afforded during the three hundred years of bondage in the cotton fields and sugar plantations of our Southern states.

743. Race Competition.—The problem resulting from the competition of Chinese labor and of black labor with workers of European birth, or workers of

European ancestry, is particularly a problem of the United States. The race problem involves more than the labor problem which results from the competition of white men with those just out of savagery, as is the case with black men, or with those exhausted and overborne by an ancient and different civilization, as is the case with Chinese labor. There are the further problems as to the outcome of the mixing of these races, of their social relations and of their political and social rights when living together under the authority of the same government. It is not the purpose of this chapter to attempt to deal with these questions further than to discuss their relations to current economic problems and to point out how largely all these problems will lose their importance on the coming of Socialism.

744. Industrial Training.—Industrial training for the negro is no solution of the negro problem. Unquestionably it will make the negro a more effective competitor with the white man in the labor market, but it in no way affects the problem of establishing peace between the races. As the intelligence and efficiency of the black man is increased, it does not solve the problem; it only emphasizes the necessity for some solution.

So far the black man has surrendered. Industrial training will add to his strength, and as his conscious power increases he will be less willing to surrender. The demand for justice will be intensified rather than satisfied by the industrial schools.

745. Disfranchisement. — Disfranchising the colored man and enforcing his economic dependence by depriving him of his political power, cannot settle the problem. As his industrial power and his general intelligence increases, either with the ballot or without the ballot, he will find some means of demanding his

economic rights. It does not settle the problem. It simply gives further temporary control to the master, while it leaves untouched all the wrongs incident to the economic dependence of this untrained race.

746. Forbidding Marriages.—Forbidding marriages across race lines will not prevent the mingling of African and Caucasian blood. It is not because of marriages that the kidnaped black men have been losing the density of their blackness during the three hundred years of enforced residence in America.

747. Transporting.—Transporting the black man to other and distant countries could not be a solution of the question, because if capable black workers should be taken to Africa, means for the employment of their labor in producing for the markets of the world would be taken with them. While some of the social features of the problem would in this way be largely disposed of, their industrial competition with the white producer would still remain.

748. "A White Man's World."—It has been proposed that this shall be made a white man's world, that the black and yellow races shall be given certain boundaries within which they may operate, and that some means shall be provided for their practical extermination everywhere else. It is interesting to note that a part of the same program is to provide for the industrial exploitation of the so-called inferior races by the same forces which propose to make this a white man's world. It does not matter how closely yellow men and black men are held to any certain or distant territory. So long as it is understood that their labor is to be exploited and any share of their products placed in the world's market in competition with the products of white workers, the industrial race problem will remain.

749. Chinese Exclusion.—The exclusion of the

Chinese from the United States has not been accompanied by, nor has it anywhere been proposed that it should be accompanied by the exclusion of American machinery from Chinese territory or the exclusion of Chinese products from the world's market. If cheap Chinese labor is forbidden to use American machinery in American shops, that will not prevent cheap production by the use of Chinese labor and American machinery. It simply means that if the Chinaman cannot come to the United States, the American machine will go to China and the products of the yellow working man, equipped with the white man's tools and subject to the white man's management, will compete in the world's market with the products of the white man's labor.

750. Race Antagonisms and Economic Interests.—

Let us give attention to the inquiry as to the cause of the intense antagonism between races. Surely neither the black man nor the Chinaman are inferior to the inferior animals which are made the pets and servants of white men with no feeling of antagonism or of race hatred existing between the animals and the men. So long as the black man remains "in his place," as it is said, so long as he performs the duties of a servant and assumes in no way whatever to ask for the opportunities of a man, there is no feeling of antagonism between the races. It is when the negro or the Chinaman, as it is said, "assumes to be a white man" that the trouble follows. The white man assumes the relations of mastery with himself the master. The white man holds the position of economic and political power and will not countenance any action on the part of an inferior race which involves social recognition or the possession of economic or political power on the part of the inferior race in competition with himself.

751. Mastery and Servitude.—But the antagonism

between one white man who is a master and another white man who is his personal servant is just as keen and as bitter as it can be between white masters and black servants. Whenever the menial who is a white man assumes the prerogatives of a master, he too must stay "in his place," or the class war becomes as intense as the result of these antagonistic economic relations between white men with each other as it is between men of different races, so far as the cause of the conflict between the different races is an economic cause.

752. Labor Unions and the Race War.—Formerly the labor unions refused membership to the black men and attempted to protect themselves from the competition of the black workers by excluding the black man from the opportunity to earn his bread in any trade where organized white men were employed, but the industrial schools have been making the black worker a skilled worker, and labor unions, even in southern states, have conceded the necessity of the organization of all laborers whether black or white, if the economic interests of either are to be in any way protected by the labor unions. The fact that they are usually organized in separate unions in no way affects the force of the fact that the right to organize and to hold charters from the same organizations as white unions has been conceded to the black workers along with the rest.¹

1. Because of this boycotting of black workers in shops where white people are employed, some curious things have happened in northern shops taken to southern states. In both Alabama and Georgia organizers of the trades unions have found towns where the white children refuse to work if black children are employed, with the result that the white children get the jobs in the shops, and the black children—unable to secure employment—are putting in their time attending school.

"I asked one of the largest employers of labor in the South if he feared the coming of the trade union. 'No,' he said, 'it is one good result of race prejudice, that the negro will enable us in the long run to weaken the trade union so that it cannot harm us. We can keep wages down with the negro, and we can prevent too much organization,'"—Brooks: *Social Unrest*, p. 28.

753. Illiterates.—The disfranchisement of illiterate voters intended to affect the southern negroes will in no way injuriously affect the efforts of the working men of the country in their effort to secure political power, in order to secure and protect their just economic rights. As long as the Republican party found it possible to use the black men's votes in the southern states to maintain that party in possession of the national power, that party stood for the political rights of the blacks. The Republicans not only enfranchised the black men in the first place for the purpose of perpetuating that party's control in national affairs, but so soon as it was found possible to secure national control and abandon the black men they were abandoned by the northern capitalists in control of the Republican organization. In many of the northern states the Democratic party is contending with the Republicans for the control of the colored vote. Either party is willing to talk for the black man's political rights so far as either needs his ballot. Both these parties are controlled by the economic masters of the black men. Neither of them will act in behalf of the economic rights of the blacks without which all political rights are robbed of their power to help the black men in their struggle for existence. There is not a southern state, nor a northern one, where the prejudice against the blacks is so intense that the capitalistic masters, both North and South, would hesitate to use the black man's ballot if it should be found necessary to do so in order to prevent the political triumph of the white working men.

754. Illiteracy and Socialism.—The disfranchisement of illiterates, black or white, will not delay the Socialist movement, for it is not the ignorant and incapable working man to whom the Socialist must address his appeal in the effort to organize the workers

for the purpose of protecting themselves and securing their own welfare as workers, through the use of the power of the state.

755. An Italian Example.—A recent effort of the capitalists of Italy to enfranchise the most ignorant and most helpless workers in order to use their votes to prevent the election of the Socialists is a fair sample of what may be expected of the capitalists in their relations to the ignorant and incapable working men both black and white. It is not the ignorance and disorder and the incompetence of the white workers, or of the black ones, from which the economic masters of both have most to fear. It is their intelligence, their capacity for self-control, for effective organization, for united action. It is these which will destroy capitalism.

756. Hating Because Fighting—Not Fighting Because Hating.—It has been seen, in Chapter IV, how the barbarian inter-tribal wars were economic wars. It was the necessity for more land, in order to support larger herds, in order to support the growing population of the barbarian tribe, which compelled it to seek to capture the lands of the other tribes. Nothing is more interesting than the reported addresses which the barbarian chieftains are said to have delivered to their own tribesmen, exalting the virtues of their own soldiers, the excellencies of their own tribes and the certain favor of their own gods, together with the marvelously superior qualities of their own gods, while contrasting all these with the inferior deities of inferior powers, besides cataloguing all the weaknesses and loathsome qualities which they attributed to the people whom they were about to attack in order to appropriate their lands. That is, at the bottom, these ancient tribes did not fight each other because they hated each other. They hated each other because they

were fighting each other, and they were fighting each other for more land.

757. Slandering the Enemy.—The most recent instance of this same sort of proceeding is the attacks of the American press on the character of the Spaniards, and later on the character of the Filipinos, not because the bad qualities complained of could not be found at home, but solely in order to excite and enlist the hatred of the many in order to turn the fruits of hateful war, at the hands of the many, to the economic advantage of the few.

Englishmen and Americans have not entirely recovered from the hatred resulting from the wars of a hundred years ago. They did not go to war because they hated each other. They hated each other because they had gone to war, and they went to war over a purely economic controversy.

For many years after the American Civil War, it cost a man the confidence and respect of his neighbors, in either the North or the South, if heard speaking in favorable terms of any of the people belonging to those sections of the country against whom they had been engaged in war. Again, the people of these sections did not go to war because they hated each other. They hated each other because they had been engaged in war, and they went to war over a clash of purely economic interests.

758. Race Hatred and Robbery.—The same is true of race hatreds. Races do not hate each other because of color, or character, or personal habits, or lack of culture. Caucasian ignorance, uncleanness and vice are just as loathsome as the same qualities found with the yellow man or the black man, but when these qualities are found to belong to those whose interests are antagonistic to our own and the economic war is on, there is enough of barbarism and of savagery still in our

nature to enable us to make a hard fight for an economic advantage and to pretend to ourselves that the real reason for fighting is to be found in the bad qualities of those whom we are striving to whip in order to rob.

759. Competing For Jobs.—Two white men are competing with each other for the same opportunity to be employed: "A" offers to work for \$3.00 a day and "B" offers to do the same task for \$2.00 a day,—then "A" accepts \$1.00 and "B" accepts 50 cents, and a Chinaman or a negro consents to do the work for 40 cents, a bid which neither "A" nor "B" can meet, and so both lose their opportunity for employment, and join hands in an effort to exclude the Chinaman and the negro from an opportunity to be employed at all. The white men's fight with the black man and the Chinaman is not because the one is black and the other yellow. It is the same fight which they were just before having with each other. It is for an opportunity to be employed. It is the same fight which goes on between the union man who has a job and the non-union man who is attempting to secure for himself an opportunity to earn his bread, but at the expense of his brother who is already employed.

As long as workingmen compete with each other for the opportunity to be employed; as long as races which maintain an inferior standard of living compete with other races which maintain a higher standard of living, so long the economic war must go on, and, hence, so long the race wars must remain as the most repulsive and the most aggravating feature of this world-wide struggle for existence.

760. Socialism Ends the Economic War.—But Socialism will end all this. It will not place one white man in competition with another for the opportunity to earn a living, because of lack of employment for all.

It will not place one nation in competition with other nations for the control of world markets, because the workers at home are unable to buy with their wages the wealth which their own hands create. It will not place the less developed races in competition with the more highly advanced races for the opportunity to sell their labor to the few masters who are exploiting, alike, all the laborers of all the races of mankind, and hence the coming of Socialism will end the race war so far as it is an economic war.

761. Necessary Race Differences Remain.—It is inconceivable, however, that the race characteristics resulting from the widely differing lines of development under which the races have come to their present conditions, will not continue to maintain social distinctions of the most marked character, if not forever, at least for many centuries in the future. What culture and liberty may be able to accomplish for the inferior races, if such races really exist, it is impossible to predict. There is nothing in Socialism which proposes to enforce upon the attention of any one, or to compel the recognition by any one of any other who is personally distasteful in any way. There is no ground for contending that a white man will be required in any way to associate with a black man, a yellow man or another white man who shall be found to be, because of character, or color, or any other reason, distasteful to him. As a matter of fact the colored population of the United States are even now gradually gathering into a few localities from which the white people are as gradually withdrawing. When the economic reasons for the presence of the white men among the blacks, in order to exploit their labor, shall cease to operate, there is every reason to believe that this tendency to separation, and the tendency to preserve and

to protect the race characteristics of each race, will become more marked than ever.

762. End of Race Robbery and Hatred.—It is inconceivable that an offensive mixture of the races could result from the coming of Socialism. All Socialism attempts to do is to abolish exploitation. All workers will be entitled to the total product of their labor. No laborer, whether white or black, will be entitled to any more, nor will he be willing to accept any less. With the disappearance of economic inequality of opportunity, all class antagonism resulting from the current clash of class interests must disappear. Class wars, international wars and race wars, for economic causes, will be forever at an end. When there is no longer any economic advantage in exciting hatred and in fomenting strife, it is difficult to conceive of any other human interest strong enough, and at the same time vile enough, to involve the people in mutual hatred, to say nothing of the mutual butcheries incident to the age-long economic struggles which have resulted from the economic inequality of opportunity which is inherent in capitalism but will be impossible under Socialism.

763. Summary.—1. Race wars are at bottom economic wars.

2. White labor in competition with Chinese and negro labor must adopt the standard of living of the negro and of the Chinaman or be displaced by them.

3. Industrial training, disfranchisement, forbidding inter-race marriages, or transporting will not affect the economic race war with the negro.

4. Chinese exclusion or making this "a white man's world" does not dispose of the Chinese question if capitalism is to remain.

5. Ignorance, disorder and incompetence are the

foes of Socialism and the allies of capitalism among all races.

6. Socialism will abolish all economic wars, including the economic wars of the races. But race characteristics, with mutual race aversions, except as they exist for economic causes, will remain untouched by Socialism.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. What is the effect on white workers when brought into competition with black and yellow races?
2. What effect does industrial training for the negro have on the question?
3. Will disfranchising the negro affect the economic problem?
4. Will forbidding inter-race marriages or transporting negroes end the industrial race war? Why?
5. Will making this "a white man's world" dispose of the industrial race war, either as related to Chinamen or negroes?
6. Why will Chinese exclusion not settle the question of Chinese labor?
7. Explain the cause of race wars.
8. What is the position of labor unions on the race question?
9. Explain the relation of the current political parties to the negro's vote.
10. Prove that races hate each other because they fight—not fight because they hate.
11. Why, then, do races fight?
12. How will Socialism end the economic war between the races?
13. Can Socialism remove radical race characteristics? Do the Socialists propose interference in any matters of that sort?
14. Will the races hate each other under Socialism?

CHAPTER XLII

THE TRAFFIC IN VICE AND SOCIALISM

764. What Is Vice?—The term vice in this chapter is used as meaning the habitual departure from those natural sanitary usages which are necessary for the well-being both of the individual and of society.

765. Drugs.—In this sense the habitual and harmful use of drugs, such as opium, narcotics, cocaine and alcohol are vices.

766. Trifling With Life.—All physical and sexual self-indulgences, in violation of the necessary relationships incident to the maintenance of such clean and wholesome conditions of family life as are necessary to guard the sources of child life from pollution and to protect childhood and youth from the demoralization which always follows in the wake of unbridled animalism, are vices.

767. Games of Chance.—All games of chance by which the means of life are offered in hazard, when the risk is not a necessary uncertainty as a part of the natural lot of man, but instead the hazard is made by some artificial contrivance and is used as a means of getting gain, not because of services rendered, but because of chances taken, are vices, because all such

transactions throw into confusion all sense of fair play between man and man and base the right of possession on the chances of a game of chance rather than on service. This makes all playing of games of chance, when played for gain, a vice. This must include the chances of the board of trade as well as those of the gaming table, with this difference, that speculation is as much the greater vice as the stakes of trade are of greater value than the nickels of the slot machines.

768. The Traffic in Vice.—If the habitual and harmful use of drugs is a vice, then the traffic in these drugs for the purpose of providing these harmful indulgences is an instance of The Traffic in Vice.

If the habitual abuse of the sexual relations is a vice, then the renting of property in order to provide a regular market where those who seek these indulgences may be able to buy the bodies of others for that purpose, and the management of such market places for a profit, are instances of The Traffic in Vice.

If betting on cards or on artificial markets is a vice, then providing an opportunity for doing such things for the purpose of gain, is an instance of The Traffic in Vice.

769. Socialism and the Traffic in Vice.—What will be the effect of the coming of Socialism on The Traffic in Vice?

770. Stimulants and Narcotics Under Capitalism.—

1. As to the harmful use of drugs: The physical exhaustion which so largely creates the demand for stimulants and narcotics is largely the result of overwork, of long hours, of unsanitary shops. It is the result of being born with a low degree of vitality, poorly fed, poorly clothed, lack of physical training, ignorance of the laws of health, and of sleeping in tenements by night as unsanitary and unwholesome as are the sweat shops by day. So far as the harmful use of drugs

comes from these sources, it will utterly disappear under Socialism.¹ For it is inconceivable that, whenever industry shall be directly organized for the benefit of those who do the work, they will not immediately set themselves to work creating sanitary homes, building sanitary shops and providing for rational sanitary hours of labor for themselves, together with pure food and perfect physical training.

Again, the habitual and harmful use of drugs is very largely caused by abuses in their use for medical purposes. Under Socialism, the sale of drugs, as well as the sale of prescriptions for the use of drugs, for a profit, will disappear along with the whole profit system. The motive on the part of the man of special training to poison another, under the guise of rendering a special service, will disappear, and so far as drugs are abused for the sake of the private gain of the physician, the quack or the druggist, with the disappearance of the profit system the harmful use of drugs which results from this cause must also disappear.

Wherever the hours of labor have been shortened and the wages of the workers increased in any trade, the standard of living has been raised and the effort at self-improvement uniformly increased. Ignorance of the disastrous consequences of the use of drugs has made it possible for those financially interested in the sale of drugs to saturate the bodies of their victims with these harmful things. Without exception, in-

1. "Now at last we are setting ourselves seriously to inquire whether it is necessary that there need be large numbers of people doomed from their birth to hard work in order to provide for others the requisites of a refined and cultured life; while they themselves are prevented by their poverty and toil from having any share or part in that life. * * *

"This progress has done more than anything else to give practical interest to the question whether it is really impossible that all should start in the world with a fair chance of leading a cultured life, free from the pains of poverty and the stagnating influences of excessive mechanical toil; and this question is being pressed to the front by the growing earnestness of the age."—Marshall: Principles of Economics, pp. 3-4.

terest in physical culture, in the development of strong bodies, in seeking for personal improvement, either mentally or physically, always leads to a knowledge of the evil consequences of the harmful use of drugs, and consequently tends to its abandonment.

Now, nothing has ever occurred in the life of the race to so stimulate this effort for personal improvement as will the coming of Socialism.²

When claims for distinction must rest upon personal excellence, personal strength, personal beauty, personal service,—when lying biographical notices can no

2. "We make criminals now; for three-fourths of the crime committed is by young men who have been temporarily led astray, and the fact that fifty per cent of all the convicts in the state prisons of the United States are under twenty-six years of age only confirms this verdict."—Carroll D. Wright: *Some Ethical Phases of the Labor Problem*, p. 57.

"A fourth evil resulting from this concentration of wealth and consequent division of society into two classes, a few very rich and the many dependent upon them, is seen in the vices which such a social organization tends to produce; the vices respectively of what Mr. Gladstone has called the 'idle rich' and the 'idle poor.' It is true that the great millionaires are not idle; they are generally the busiest of men. But their sons are not the busiest of men. Given an idle rich class, with plenty of money and none of that self-control which is learned in the school of industry, and there inevitably result the three great vices of America—gambling, drinking and licentiousness. On the other hand, given a great dependent class and a time of hardship when some of them can no longer get the right to use tools and earn their bread, and they become literally dependent upon charity and begin to listen to the man who says, 'The world owes you a living'; and when a man has begun to think that the world owes him a living, he has taken the first step toward getting his living by foul means if he cannot get it by fair. So out of the great working class the poor are recruited, and out of the poor the paupers, and out of the paupers the tramps, and out of the tramps the thieves, and out of the thieves the robbers.

"Thus the concentration of wealth tends, first to material, second to political, third to industrial, and fourth to moral evil."—Abbott: *Rights of Man*, pp. 125-126.

"Have you noticed," says Meng-Tsen, naively enough, "that in years of plenty many good actions are done, and that in poor years many bad actions are done?" Meng-Tsen is right; all the causes of discord among mankind are always a more or less complex transubstantiation of a piece of primitive bread; man's real sin is hunger in all its forms. An organism completely nourished, not only in its framework and muscles, but in the finest ramifications of its nervous system, would be, but for morbid hereditary dispositions, a well-equilibrated organism. Every vice which reduces to a disequilibrium thus reduces scientifically to the more or less incomplete nutrition of some deeply seated organ."—Guyau: *Education and Heredity*, p. 32.

longer be purchased, when a long bank account can no longer be used to cover up physical deformities and moral outrages, then all men must give their attention to the improvement of themselves as the sole means of securing distinction, and the motive for the abandonment of harmful drugs and all other harmful practices will be greatly reinforced. The same motive will more strongly establish, than ever before, every sane and sanitary usage, either for the guidance of individuals or for the protection of society.

771. The Traffic in Women.—2. As to the traffic related to sexual abuses, the same may be said.

Traffic in the bodies of women will never cease in the markets where vicious indulgences are sold for gain, so long as the bodies of both men and women are bought and sold in the labor market for a private profit. Houses devoted to this purpose are made to earn enormous incomes and the landlords are usually found to be men and women of the highest rank, so far as social recognition by the social four hundred can fix the rank of the members of that group. The helpless woman who, under economic necessity, or because misled, betrayed and forsaken, now surrenders her body to a trafficker in vice, in the same manner in which her brother must surrender his body to his employer, will never be required under Socialism to give her body for vicious purposes, for lack of opportunity to give her hands to the doing of useful labor. Then there will be no such helpless women. The power of a man to enforce demands of any sort because of the economic dependence of women will cease on the coming of industrial democracy. The temptation for men and women to rent their property for purposes which pollute the sources of life and spread physical disease and social disorder will disappear when the landlords

have given up the earth and all men and women have an opportunity to live without paying personal tribute to any others.³

772. The Gamblers.—3. As to gambling: It seems absurd for the masters of the market, whose wheels of fortune carry, as the stakes in their transactions, the means of life for the great multitudes of the people, to complain at the petty transactions of the wheels of fortune, or the gamblers' cards, or the shaking of dice, or the corruption which follows the gaming at the races, for the evil which follows in the wake of these things is as nothing at all in comparison with the corruption which all the year round is brought to bear on the youth of America from the very business of making a living, so filled is modern life with unnecessary chances. But the gamblers on the boards of trade, together with the gamblers at the race track and the gaming room, will utterly lose their place and power as soon as it shall become impossible for any man to corner and control the opportunity of another to earn his own living on equal terms with all others. Under So-

3. "In all civilized communities illegal, or immoral, polygamy exists; but those who indulge in the practice are condemned by the social code. The practice is called 'the social evil,' and is regarded as the most painful and distressing phenomenon of civilized life. This kind of polygamy tends to disappear as women become economically free. The number of women who resort to that method of gaining a means of existence is insignificant when compared with the number who engage in other pursuits. The method, too, is highly repugnant to those who use it. If honorable occupation were open to all women—occupation which would be liberally remunerative—there would be no 'social evil.' No woman will deliberately choose a profession which excludes her from association with her family, and society in general, when she is given an opportunity of earning a higher or an equal wage in an honorable way of life. This will be admitted by all. The professional courtesan is only an exaggerated example of the economic marriage. The only difference between her and the woman who marries, in a legal way, for convenience lies in the fact that the courtesan is the instrument of many men, while the economic wife is the instrument of only one. And in many instances the courtesan has the happier existence, if we eliminate her social disadvantages. The so-called 'social evil' is a question of pure economy. If the source of it be removed, the institution will disappear."—Lane: *The Level of Social Motion*, p. 546.

cialism, it will be impossible for any gambler in the market ever to win by trade control of the opportunity of any other to earn his living on equal terms with all others. Under Socialism it will be equally impossible for any gambler to either win or lose by the chances of any game the equal opportunity of all to earn and to obtain the means of life. When the misfortunes of defeat are taken out of the game of trade and out of the game of cards, the gambler's zest for victory will also disappear.

773. Sports Are Survivals.—It is a scientific principle that the sports of today are but the survivals of the serious business of former days. Base ball, foot ball, the horse race, the gamester's table, are survivals in the form of sport of the savage and barbarian warfare which was unavoidable in the primitive life of the race. But the warfare of the market place, the warfare of the workshop, the warfare which buys and sells the bodies of both men and women for purposes of trade, in the store and factory, as well as at the brothel, still disposes of the lives of its victims more ruthlessly, and with more disastrous consequences to those who fall, than did the tortures of savagery or the butchery of barbarism. Even the slaughter of the rapid-firing guns is merciful as compared to trade.

774. Gambling the Rule of the Market.—The vices of the gaming room can never be put aside as long as the outlawed usages of the game remain the lawful usages of the market. The misfortunes of war and the calamities of trade must cease their destruction of the most sacred human interests before there can be any rational grounds for demanding that the vices of the gambler be suppressed. When the profit system ceases in the market, the profit system will cease in the gaming room, and not before. The coming of Socialism will "call off" the warfare of the market. It will abol-

ish the brutal sport of getting something for nothing as the main business of life. It may leave the survivals of capitalism for the amusements of the future. The war of the market may remain as a survival in some harmless sport, but it will no more involve the fatal consequences of the current market than the game of base ball perpetuates the disasters of the primeval "battles to the death," which age-long series of incidents in the early life of the race created the instincts which make base ball possible.

775. "A Roaring Farce."—Those who attend a comic opera in order to laugh at the absurdities of the life of the Middle Ages, ought to remember that the old battle-ax was not made of paper. When it was in real use it was a very serious affair. It would be just as entertaining to anticipate, were it possible to do so, the "roaring farce" which some wit of the future will make of the justice court, or of the supreme court either, as to that matter, when it shall be outgrown and shall not any longer be used for purposes of extortion and so may be freely laughed at as it deserves to be.

776.—Prohibition?—If it be asked whether under Socialism, prohibition will prevail, it is impossible to say. Under Socialism, the sale of drinks, and the sale of bread will alike be free from any motive for putting poison into the drink or alum into the bread.

777. The Saloon.—Will the saloon remain? It is impossible to say. If it remains, the character of the saloon must be vastly improved. The bartender is to-day a hired man. The saloon keeper who thinks he owns his own establishment is the victim of the purest fiction. The drinks he sells are made by others. The prices he asks are fixed by others. The share he pays to society for the privilege of engaging in this business is fixed by others and is usually paid by others. The individual retailer in drinks and drugs is practically

out of business, and the great syndicates which control the liquor traffic, even now, in the midst of the terrible pressure for opportunities for employment, are able only with the greatest difficulty to find men with such qualities that they can trust them as their representatives in the traffic who still have the capacity to transact the business. Suppose every bartender in America should be given as good an opportunity to earn a living as any other man on the continent, free from discredit, free from the long hours, free from the disorders of the disorderly house, with himself and his family freed from the contempt of which both he and they are now the victims, but which they rarely deserve, how many saloon keepers would bear the discredit of the disorderly resort for the sake of a business from which they were receiving no personal advantages whatever. If places of drunkenness and disorder shall exist under Socialism, it will be for their own sake and not for the sake of the profits. Then, for the first time in many centuries, if the vices remain, they must find a means of doing so without the special service of "The Trafficker in Vice." Some men will bear the discredit of being the keepers of disorderly houses for a profit in the sale of drinks, so long as others are willing to bear the discredit of being sharks or thieves for the sake of the profits in all other lines of trade.

778. End of the Profit in Vice.—The profit system is responsible for the larger share of the harm done by drinks, drugs, cards, the races and the boards of trade. The profit system can be overthrown in The Traffic in Vice only by its overthrow in all other lines of business. The profit system can be overthrown only by the coming of Socialism.

779. Total Abstinence.—If it is asked will total abstinence then prevail, we do not need to wait for the

coming of Socialism to give a practical answer to this practical question, for if total abstinence does not prevail it is evident that self-possession and self-control will prevail, not because enforced by legislation or by social interference with the personal habits of the people, but because self-possession and self-control will speedily become a necessary condition to the comradeship essential to all rational human life when all men are free and personal excellence must become the sole ground for personal consideration.

780. Summary.—1. Back of all the vices are economic conditions which so weaken and waste the forces of life as to lead to the practice of the vices.

2. Back of all the vices is The Traffic in Vice, forever setting a snare for the feet of others, in enterprises where the profits of the trade of one depend on the physical and moral ruin of others.

3. Socialism would make possible such industrial opportunities that the ignorance, the long hours, the exposure, the exhausting toil, the economic dependence, especially of women, which make the people easy victims of the vendors of drugs, of evil solicitations and of the chances of the games of chance will entirely disappear.

4. Socialism would remove all temptation for one man to ruin another for a profit, and so to be a trafficker in the vices of others, by providing equal opportunity for rational and humane employment for all.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. What is vice?
2. What is The Traffic in Vice?
3. How will Socialism affect the harmful use of drugs? As to sanitation? As to medical use and as to physical training?
4. Why will prostitution cease?
5. Why will gambling lose its interest under Socialism?
6. What is the moral difference between betting on cards and betting on the wheat market?
7. What relation have the sports of to-day to the previous life of the race?
8. Will prohibition be likely under Socialism?
9. Why, if the saloon remains, will its character change?
10. Under what conditions will vice remain under Socialism?
11. Why will The Traffic in Vice come to an end?
12. Will total abstinence prevail?

CHAPTER XLIII

THE CHARITY ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIALISM

781. Primitive Co-operation Not Charity.—The charity organizations and the poor laws belong exclusively to the era of capitalism. By this it is not meant that before the development of capitalism there had been no provision made for the relief of the distressed. Nor is it true that the appearance of the charity organizations marks the beginning in our human nature of a kindly regard one for another. While great cruelty was frequently practiced, and even cannibalism seems to have been universal at one stage of man's development, still during the entire period of savagery and until the closing years of barbarism, common ownership and co-operative industry, so far as industry existed, sought to provide for the welfare of all; and hence, within the primitive tribal life there was no place either for the charity organizations or for anything which could in any way correspond to the poor laws now in force.

782. Slaves and Serfs Not Victims of Charity.—When this primitive co-operative society had been destroyed by tribal wars and the successful warriors had been made the masters and the conquered tribes had

been enslaved, there was no place for relief funds among the masters themselves, and no master would have tolerated such an interference on behalf of his own slaves from the master of a neighboring slave pen. The poor were slaves and, if relieved at all, except as they relieved each other, it was by those who were at the same time engaged as masters in wearing out their lives.

The same thing was true when, in the growth of society, slavery was outgrown and serfdom had taken its place. If a lord had needed relief from a charity organization or a poor fund, he would have ceased to be a lord. If a serf needed relief, it would be provided, if at all, by his own lord, on whose land the serf was exhausting his life in enriching the very lord from whom he would seek relief.

783. End of Personal Relations Between Masters and Servants.—It was necessary that a whole class should be developed among which the unfortunate would be found, and another class entirely distinct from the unfortunates, who were more fortunate than they, and who could be induced to contribute to the relief of those not of their own class. These characteristics of the society which produces charity organizations and poor laws, it is necessary to bear in mind. So long as the unfortunate workers maintained personal relations to those who had personally profited by their services the obligation remained upon the individuals of the more fortunate people to directly relieve the distress of the less fortunate, who were individually and personally both the sources of the masters' wealth and the subjects of their care. But under the wage system the relations of personal dependence are not recognized. The man who hires labor, that is, buys labor, instead of buying the laborer, does not admit any obligation as resting upon him to support his

employees, further than by the payment of wages. He buys his labor in the open labor market, and if he is interested in relieving the distressed, it is upon the ground that he is himself more fortunate, and that he ought to help the helpless, but not upon the ground that he is under any personal obligation to benefit those by whom he has himself been benefited.

Under primitive industry, however, all were of the same class. There was no more fortunate class which could be induced to be, or to pretend to be, especially good to a whole class less fortunate than themselves. All were provided for in the regular organization of the tribal industry. Neither the poverty-stricken class nor the class of those who were rich and able to patronize, and accustomed to patronizing those poverty-stricken, had any existence, and consequently the charity organization made up of the class of those unusually fortunate, to relieve the distress of those unusually unfortunate, could not exist.

These classes did exist under slavery and serfdom, but the relations between the helpless and their masters were direct and personal, and therefore the charity organizations and the poor laws as they exist now, could not then exist, and as a matter of fact did not exist.

784. The Early Church and Mutual Aid Among the Slaves.—This statement is likely to be disputed on the ground that the Christian church was boundless in its charities, and from the very beginning of its history gave itself immediately and continuously to the relief of the distressed. This position is correct, but it in no way affects the truth of our position. The church was a church and not a charity organization. Long before the Christian church came into the Roman world, associations among the poor for their mutual relief, and especially in order to provide for the decent burial of

slaves, had been in existence.¹ It is not contended that there were no associations among the slaves or among the evicted and helpless masses which the creation of the great Roman estate made of those who before had been landholders within the original territory of the Roman tribes. These Roman tribes had furnished the soldiers to conquer the rest of the world and had supported the establishment of the private ownership of the lands of the conquered tribes. At last, with the same measure with which they had measured unto others it was measured unto themselves.

These ancient landholders, who for a long period held their lands within the original territory of the Roman tribes, had produced their own living in much the same independent fashion as the American farmers did for two hundred years and until within the last half century. But at last all the territory adjoining the Mediterranean had been brought under the sway of the Roman authority, and the military masters of the rest of the world at last absorbed the home territory and compelled the dispossessed at home to become as helpless as were those foreigners whom the soldiers, who were recruited from these same Romans who were now themselves dispossessed, had forced into slavery.

The slaves seem never to have utterly lost the ideal of mutual interest and association for mutual benefit as did their masters. It is not only admitted that there were associations for mutual relief among the slaves and the helpless freedmen and the remnants of the ancient farmers, but on the contrary, there is reason to believe that the spirit of co-operation and of mutual helpfulness which existed in savagery and in barbarism, was never at any time utterly destroyed by civilization. The Roman slave pen was always being re-filled with slaves, captured in the wars with the bar-

1. Ward: Ancient Lowly, p. 97.

barians. These slaves were always bringing with them the instincts and habits of primitive life. Spartacus was not the only slave to bring with him the memories of a "tender-hearted shepherd lad who never knew a harsher note than a shepherd's flute."

On the organization of the Christian church, it went directly into these voluntary associations, already in existence among the slaves, the freedmen, and the evicted, and continued to do, in the name of religion, that which had been done before for humanity's own sake, and probably never had ceased being done among the slaves from the time when mutual support was the universal custom of savagery and barbarism.

The church for a long time found its adherents almost entirely among the poor, and its organization of relief, instead of being like the donations of the modern charity organizations, was simply a survival of, or at least a reversion to, the spirit and disposition of mutual support which was everywhere characteristic of barbarism.

785. Public Provision for Roman Citizens.—Again, it will be contended, that the provision for the populace of Rome, made from the public treasury, was a poor law actually in operation, and long before the days of modern capitalism. But the answer to this is that this relief was especially and only for the citizens of Rome.² The whole people of the ancient civilizations were divided into two classes—soldiers and slaves. The relief distributed from the Roman treasury was not for the slaves, but for the soldiers; that is, it was for the relief of that great body of people who were not bondmen, and from whose ranks, as has been said, the Roman armies were recruited. The public treasury from which they were fed was filled by the pillage of the

2. Liddell: *History of Rome*, pp. 537-538; and Bliss: *Gesta Christa*, p. 98.

very armies whose ranks depended upon these same citizens to keep them supplied with soldiers.

It was in no sense a poor law, based upon a system of modern taxation, by which the class which has property is held to be bound to see that distress does not reach the starving point among those who are helpless and are of the class which is without property. Instead of the Roman distribution of food, being anything like the modern poor fund or the modern charity organization, the fact is that the senators and generals obtained their living by pillaging the balance of the earth. Those of the Roman populace who received public supplies, were in no proper sense the recipients of charity or of the poor master's allowance. They simply got the bad end of the bargain in the distribution among the Roman citizens of the pillage which the Roman armies, recruited from their own class, had taken from the balance of the earth. The matter of surprise is not that they were given so much, but that they were contented with so little. They did not get bread alone. They were given the arena as well as the granaries, entertainment as well as food. The spectacular, public butchery of the strongest captives, as well as a dole from the products of the toil of those less strong, was freely given to the brutal crowd as their share of the spoils of war. If they had not been natural murderers themselves the pitiful butchery of the arena and the scant provision for their own support would never have satisfied the Roman populace. They were bribed into accepting the scant provisions which were furnished for their support with the abundant provision which was made for their entertainment by the helpless slaughter of the arena.

The rise of modern capitalism and the coming in of the wage system, with the development of modern towns and the creation of the modern factory,

system, was also the beginning of charity organizations. Before that, the guilds had provided for their unfortunate members and the church had provided for the relief of all. The church had come to be the greatest landlord in Europe, and her establishments were not only the places of refuge for those broken in spirit, but places of relief for all men in distress. These great properties had been created not only or mainly by the gifts of those counted great, but by the direct industry of those who had given their very lives, not as members of one class condescending to patronize another, but in actual industry for the creation of wealth in order to provide an earthly refuge for all the wayfarers of mankind.³

787. Confiscation of Church Property.—Henry VIII confiscated the property of most of the guilds, of the churches and of nearly all the schools and colleges of England, and turned these properties over to the private possession and for the private use of his personal favorites.⁴ This was done in violation of the fraternal spirit which existed in savagery and barbarism. This fraternal spirit had not been destroyed by the wars which annihilated the common ownership and co-operative industry of primitive life. When this spirit had departed from the masters, it still survived among the slaves, and when the Christian religion came to Rome bringing the message of good will, this fraternal spirit was already there relieving the distressed and burying the dead. When Henry VIII confiscated the property of the guilds and schools and churches, he took away from society the only working plant still in

3. Uhlhorn: *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, pp. 246-273.

"The Pope was the greatest capitalist of the Middle Ages. The British Parliament at one time declared the revenues derived from the people of that kingdom by the Pope to be five times as great as those obtained by the Crown."—Walker: *Political Economy*, p. 424. Note.

4. Rogers: *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, pp. 320-335, 346, 418 and 550.

existence on which all had claims, and left the helpless utterly without the means of relief. He dispossessed the only groups which still embodied the idea of brotherhood, and so compelled the helpless, among those who were dispossessed, to beg relief at the hands of the benefactors among the class of those who had dispossessed them. The old fraternalism of the church and guild was thus robbed of its estates in order to further enrich the new paternalism of the capitalist system.

788. Beginning of the Poor Laws.—The distress became so great and the able-bodied beggar so common and dangerous that something had to be done, and, in the reign of Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VIII, were enacted the first of the poor laws.⁵ It was the avowed purpose of the law not to relieve the distressed, but to relieve society from the danger incident to such universal conditions of starvation among the helpless. It was distinctly reported by her special commissioners and the law was enacted on their recommendation that it could be so drawn as to attach such disgrace to the persons receiving relief that all self-respecting people, who were peaceably inclined, would rather quietly starve to death than endure the disgrace of public relief.⁶

789. Modern Charity—Exchanging Self-Respect for Bread.—All the poor laws, enacted in all the countries of Europe and America, have been modeled after this original statute. They are characterized by the same spirit.⁷ The charity organizations are not now so much concerned with the relief of the helpless as with

5. Efforts to deal with this question were made during the brief reign of her half brother, Edward, but the first settled policy on the question was established under Elizabeth. See Rogers' *Work and Wages*, Chap. XV., also Henderson's *Dependent, Defective and Delinquent Classes*, p. 41.

6. Walker: *Political Economy*, pp. 417-424.

7. Henderson: *Dependent, Defective and Delinquent Classes*, p. 41.

protecting the well-to-do from imposition on the part of those who claim they are in distress.⁸ The church has become the defender and the active promoter of these charity organizations. But the organizations are entirely without the fraternal spirit of the ancient church. The foundation, on which could be established any mutual feeling, is entirely wanting. The contributors do not give, in order to establish associations or institutions from which they, in common with all others, may expect relief. The millionaire's donation to the slum district soup kitchen is given without any expectation of ever getting a dinner there himself.

Nothing emphasizes the class lines, nothing corrupts the spirit and disposition of the fortunate, nothing humiliates and disgraces, while it emphasizes the position of dependence of those who are helpless, so much as the charity organizations. If any relief is given, it is under such conditions that whatever traits of manliness may still belong to the unfortunate, there is enforced a clear exchange of self-respect for bread.

790. Hospitals and Asylums.—Public hospitals, asylums for the insane and blind, and homes for the aged, so far as they are able to embody in actual work the purpose for which they exist, are not instances of charity organizations, but they are imperfect expressions of the fraternal spirit of mankind. So far as they fail, they do so because of the interference and corruption of capitalism.

791. The Poor-House.—But under the poor laws and the poor-houses, little children and worn-out wrecks of long years of exposure and distress, together with the wasted lives of dissipation, the woman who has worked and waited through her years, and the

8. Notice how the whole body of their regulations are not drawn so much to make sure that there shall be no suffering as to insure that the unworthy beggar shall not be fed.

woman who has wasted her vitality in wrong doing, all are huddled together, despised and neglected, and kept alive more for the benefit of the poor-house contractors than for the relief of those who are helpless.

It is not meant to say that it is the general wish of society that these matters should be managed in this manner. On the contrary, it is believed that in the management of both the charity organizations and the poor laws, the general public is continuously betrayed. The general public intends relief. This intention of the public is born out of its fraternal spirit, but under the capitalistic management of affairs, this fraternal spirit of society is able to reach the helpless with the relief it offers only when its relief has been so mixed with bitterness that even the tender mercies of capitalism are full of cruelty.

792. Socialism and the Helpless.—The defender of capitalism is heard frequently to contend that Socialism will make paupers or public dependents out of all the people, or else Socialism must leave the crippled and helpless without the means of life, because the total products are to go to the producers, and the helpless surely cannot be required to produce.

Let it be remembered that, under capitalism, the workers must depend on the private owners of the means of producing the means of life for the opportunity to become producers at all. Socialism will remove this dependence of all upon a part and substitute in its stead the interdependence of all upon all.

793. Mutual Dependence.—The dependence of the workers under capitalism is the dependence of acknowledged social inferiors on acknowledged social superiors, and the acknowledgment of this relation is a condition to which the workers must submit in order to become producers. The dependence of the workers under Socialism will be the dependence of equals on

each other. It will be democracy instead of servitude. The workers will depend on each other only for the opportunity to become producers. Each worker will depend entirely upon himself as to the industry undertaken, and upon the will of all the workers, whose interests would be the same as his own, as to the conditions, hours and distribution of products, rather than as now, upon the will of a private employer whose interests are directly opposed to his own. Socialism will make a pauper of no one. It will make free, self-employing, self-governing and self-respecting workers out of all the able-bodied full-grown members of society who choose to become such workers. Should any full-grown, able-bodied member of society choose to make a beggar out of himself, he will be obliged to beg from those who are themselves producers, every one of whom will know that any such beggar may live, if he will, on the same terms as the others from whom he begs. Not an encouraging outlook for able-bodied beggars.

794. The Crippled, the Blind, the Aged.—But what of the crippled and the blind and the young and the aged? Those too young and those too old for labor will belong to the producers, not the dependents. The aged will have done their share, or, if not, it will be too late to demand a service which they cannot render. The young will be the producers of the future. The able-bodied workers will be bound to care for the aged in return for the care which those now aged provided for the able-bodied when they themselves were children, and the able-bodied will be justly required to care for the young in anticipation of the care which the young, when full grown, will provide for these workers when they themselves shall join the ranks of those beyond the years when productive service may reasonably be required. In these cases, the workers are re-

ceiving the full products of their toil. A part falls to them in childhood, a part in old age, the larger share in life's full tide of strength and joy but in no case does one become the personal or social dependent of any other. To be sure the generations share in each other's products, but it is the mutual dependence of equals, and that under necessary natural relations, not the arbitrary dependence of those socially inferior on those socially their superiors.

And now as to the blind and the crippled and those in general who are from birth physically or mentally defective. These are heirs to the world's natural resources and to all the achievements of the past, along with the rest of all mankind. The production of the larger share of the wealth of today is possible because of the invention, organization and industry of the past. These defectives are the joint heirs with all others to all natural resources and to all these achievements of the past. Unfortunately they are heirs to portions of the life of the past which others have escaped. The past has given to them the same claim to all the wealth which the past has given to all others in society, but the past has not given to them the strength to make use of this inheritance. And why not? Certainly not because of any fault of those who came into the world blind, or crippled, or diseased or helpless for any cause.⁹

795. Victims of Social Neglect.—The victim of dis-

9. "Knowledge teaches a community to breed better children, to bring them up better, to employ them better, to encourage them to behave better, and work better, and play better, and in their turn breed children who shall have better chances than themselves—not necessarily better chances to grow rich or to become idle, but better chances to become honorable, wise, strong-bodied and strong-brained able men and women."—Beard: *Industrial Revolution*, Introduction (Powell), p. 8.

"Socialism is a structure of society which takes in all; it leaves no residuum, no 'submerged tenth.' This all inclusiveness of Socialism appeals strongly to those who have been discouraged by the patchwork and piecemeal character of other social reforms. Take 'trades unionism,' for example: It has benefited great masses of men, but it always leaves

abling misfortune is also usually the victim of social neglect. Unguarded machinery, unsafe bridges, unsanitary conditions, child labor, overwork, improper food, unchecked contagion—these are the social forces with which society is creating the helpless. For, whose fault, then, is this misfortune of birth or accident? Has it not befallen the helpless because of conditions for which society, its usages, its wrongs, its vices, its robberies, its neglects are more largely responsible than all other possible causes? It was the wrongs of society which blinded the eyes, misformed the bodies, blighted the intelligence of those born to helpless lives. It was the wrongs of society which caused the strong bodies of the workers “to be broken on the wheels” of industry.

It is not a question as to what these defectives can produce. Society has produced them, and society has done its work so badly that she owes to her helpless a debt which she can never pay.

The most society can do, and it is her great misfortune that she cannot do more, is to lead those who are blind, to care for those who are helpless, not as an act of charity, not because of poor laws, not to the discredit of those who are helpless, but as an effort, so far as possible, to “make up” for the wrongs which in malice

behind a wretched class of unorganized wage earners; and even should it obtain its impossible ideal of complete organization of wage earners, it would still leave behind the most wretched of all—the dependent and delinquent classes. Take charity organization in all its various forms: It endeavors to administer to the dependent classes, taking them one by one; but it leaves unreached a disheartening number of needy and worthy cases. In fact, those whom one would like to help are precisely the most generally passed over by charity organizations. The same holds true with respect to all private efforts to aid individual cases. Private effort to reach the needy, one by one, so resembles pouring water into a sieve that many turn from it in despair. Socialism follows the method of Aristotle, and proceeds from the whole to the part. Its very structure is such that none are left out, but ample room is found for the cripple as well as the athlete, for the weak and feeble as well as for the strong and powerful.”—Ely: *Socialism and Social Reform*, pp. 114-115.

or in ignorance have been committed at the hands of, or with the consent of society itself.

796. Charity the Shameless Compromise of a Hopeless Bankrupt.—In the presence of these helpless people society is a hopeless bankrupt. When she has done her utmost for their protection and their relief she has not settled their account. Society, the bankrupt debtor, has given bread to the helpless creditor where life has been denied. Society, the bankrupt debtor, has given a guide to lead the blind for the clear vision which the helpless creditor has lost. Society, the bankrupt debtor, has provided food and drink to the body of the stunted mind, but vision, and strength, and gladness, and the matchless power to know and to understand—these society has taken away, and these she can never restore. Away with the outrage of disgrace for the helpless. The disgrace belongs to society. More than society can ever pay belongs to the helpless. But do not the products belong to the producers? These helpless people cannot produce. These helpless people are social products, the products of the social producers. Society must learn to change the conditions which make her the producer of these defectives. But until she does she must care for her own.¹⁰

10. "No less certain is it that the giant growth of pauperism in these latter days is largely due to the iniquitous individualism which, under the specious formulas of 'freedom of contract,' and 'the course of trade,' has withheld from the laborer, skilled and unskilled, his fair share of the fruits of his labor. The laborer has sunk into a pauper, the pauper into a vagrant, a loafer, a confirmed offender, and the class of habitual criminals has been formed as an element of modern society. The law of human progress is:

"Move upward, working out the beast,
And let the ape and tiger die."

"But these unfortunates have retrogressed; they have moved downward, working out the man; and their faces have, more or less, completely lost the human expression. Their lineaments irresistibly remind us of the wild animals, to whose level they have well nigh sunk—the wolf, the jackal, the panther, the hyena. And these degraded beings increase and multiply, giving the world a more vitiated progeny—children born with special pre-disposition for crime."—Lilly: *First Principles in Politics*, pp. 304-305.

797. Tomorrow All Are Helpless.—In all this, it must be borne in mind that under Socialism no one will be making charitable or beneficent arrangements for others. All are together providing for themselves. Tomorrow one's strength must fail. Today, in helping to determine the lot of the helpless, one is fixing his own condition for the morrow, for tomorrow all are helpless.

798. Mutual Aid Among the Poor.—But the charity organizations and the poor laws are not the only efforts to relieve distress. Those who are poor are continuously caring for each other, not only in benefit associations and in the fraternal organizations, but they are continuously relieving each other when out of employment, in sickness and when suffering from accident, or misfortune of any sort. The gifts to the poor by those who are rich, through the charity organizations, are a mere bagatelle as compared to the relief which the poor are all the time providing for each other. There is nothing more discreditable to our human nature than the charity organizations and the spirit and method of the administration of the poor laws. There is nothing more creditable to our human nature than the daily self-denial of those who are poor, in their relief of each other in distress. The millionaire, in times of great public distress, contributes from his abundance to a soup kitchen and helps to keep alive the unemployed with soup for food and the stone floor of some public building for a bed; but the poor open their doors to each other, "double up" within their already overcrowded quarters and share together the last crust in their scanty larder. There is never a call for relief but that the poor respond; there is never an opportunity for the children from the families of the poor to give for the relief of others, but that the response is instant, large-hearted and frequently pathetic in the splendor of its natural tenderness. Public school teachers have

sometimes joined with the children in providing Thanksgiving dinners for those who were unable to provide them for themselves; but in such cases it has not been infrequent that those who brought the most bountiful gifts were the very children who should themselves have been the ones to receive rather than to give.

799. Fraternity.—The fraternal spirit, so manifest in the life of childhood, so persistent in the lives of the poor, so foreign to the life of capitalism, is an inheritance of our race from the long centuries of co-operative industry and common ownership within the tribal organizations of primitive life.

800. Loss of the Fraternal Spirit.—It is a curious thing that all races have traditions of a previous golden age. It is a curious fact that as new tribes have been discovered and the knowledge of the nature of their institutions and usages has been added to the body of our knowledge of the race, with great frequency these new tribes have been found in a condition of seeming degeneracy from a previous higher life.¹¹ They have possessed evidences of having been in possession of institutions more advanced than they were found to possess at the time of their discovery.

Darwin calls attention even to certain vicious usages found among certain classes of human beings, which the lower animals have nowhere been found to practice.¹²

It is a curious fact that every effort of far-reaching importance for the improvement of the political economic conditions of the world has always, at the start, resulted in making bad matters worse. It is impossible to resist the conviction that, while civilization has brought to our race a sense of its solidarity a sense of world life and of world power, has wrought out great

11. Carpenter: *Civilization, Its Cause and Cure*, p. 11.

12. Darwin: *Descent of Man*, p. 62.

inventions, is bringing all lands under a single world-wide social organization, has multiplied many times the conveniences and comforts which it is possible for the race to possess—yet there seems to have been, on account of its coming, a distinct loss in the spirit of fraternal relations among the people. Instead of the mutual interdependence within the tribes, the bitter condescension of the charity organizations and the stolid cruelty of the poor laws have been thrust upon us.

801. The Days of Trial.—But men were never really more degenerate than beasts. The golden age is not in the past; rather it is in the future. This seeming loss of the fraternal spirit is seeming only, and is not real. It sleeps, but it is not dead. It should be borne in mind that whenever institutions or habits among tribes of men have been long established and the accustomed wants are regularly supplied, under such conditions men are able to act deliberately, and so act their best. Under such circumstances it is at least possible that they shall consciously strive for improvement, for the correction of those things which are sources of trouble, and the cultivation of those things which have been found to be sources of delight. But when new conditions arise where men are thrown into strife, where new and strange methods of doing things have been adopted and are poorly understood, then in their blundering use of these things they frequently bring disaster rather than blessing. A sense of confusion takes the place of a sense of security. Men are thrown into despair, and in the midst of their disappointment and perplexity they act more from desperation than from deliberation. They cannot act out the best that is in them even if they would. Under settled conditions the best there is in man at least has an opportunity to come into the foreground and make itself seen and heard; but in such a crisis, all the fierceness, all the brutality,

all the cruelty that is in man's nature so comes to the foreground that neither culture nor conscience can control. They are thrust into the background. They seem not to exist because in the midst of the brutal warfare they are neither seen nor heard. The story of civilization records many such scenes, many such periods of disorder when men have acted as nothing less than demons, and of other periods of peaceful growth wherein men have acted in the fullness of a worthy manhood.

But civilization has never at any time been able to so establish conditions of security and of peaceful growth, with such provisions for the general welfare, that our human nature has been able to bring itself to the full fruition of the good which is really in the heart of man.

802. Provoking Evil.—Modern capitalism by its private monopoly of all that nature has given and of all that man has achieved, has introduced such a condition as to repeat for most men the old story of the outcast whose "hand was against every man and every man's hand was against him," and in this strife each hour reveals the more of demon and the less of man.

803. "Falling Upward."—But this is only in the seeming. Capitalism must ripen into Socialism. Then it will be found that "man has not fallen except as he has fallen upward." Under Socialism, security and comfort will be within the reach of all. Once again, the highest choice will be possible. Once again, man may act with deliberation, and the voice of the best that is in him will be heard again. It will sing a gladder song, and reveal a nobler spirit than has yet been known among mankind. Desperation will give way to deliberation, the ferocity of our brute inheritance will yield to the fraternity which will in part outlive, and in part be evolved from the very confusion which has

been hiding from us the highest qualities of our own nature.

Charity organizations and poor laws will then have no existence. The distress of the wretched will furnish no share of the entertainment of the rich and idle, and the misfortune of helplessness will never again be branded with disgrace.

804. Summary.—1. Charity organizations and poor laws had no existence in primitive society.

2. Under slavery and serfdom, the masters and lords, who wore out the lives of the workers, in enriching themselves, provided for the helpless among the slaves and serfs so far as they were provided for.

3. Under capitalism, the employers sustain no personal relations to the helpless among the working class. The employers wear out the lives of those who are strong in enriching themselves and throw upon society the responsibility of providing for the helpless among those who toil, hence the charity organizations and the poor laws.

4. Under Socialism, the workers will be their own employers, will have for themselves the total product of their labor and will directly provide, on the basis of equality with themselves, for all the helpless among them.

5. Under Socialism, the relations of master and slave, of lord and serf, of employer and hired laborer, of the giver of charity and the dependent, will all and utterly disappear, and the relation of brotherhood will cover all the earth and will include all mankind.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. Why were there neither charity organizations nor poor laws under barbarism, under slavery and under serfdom?

2. Point out the class lines in the beginning of the charity organizations.

3. How are the personal relations of members of the master class to the members of the serving class, under the wage system, different from the same relations under slavery and serfdom?

4. How was the mutual aid of the early Christian church different from the relief offered by the modern charity organizations?

5. Why ought not the ancient church and the old trade guilds and the earlier associations of slaves, to be counted charity organizations?

6. Give a reason for thinking that the mutual associations of the slaves were a survival from the co-operative society of primitive life.

7. Was the public distribution of grain or bread among the citizens of Rome an instance of an ancient poor law? How did it differ from a modern poor law?

8. What provision was made for the unfortunate prior to the time of Henry VIII?

9. What became of the property of the church under Henry VIII, and his successors?

10. What was the occasion for the first poor laws? What was the motive for their enactment?

11. What was the purpose of the poor law which became the model for all the rest enacted since then?

12. How do the charity organizations embitter the class relations?

13. Give the general spirit and character of the usual poor house.

14. How, and to what extent and with what spirit, do the poor relieve each other?

15. Contrast the charities of a millionaire with those of the school children.

16. Whence comes this fraternal spirit of man?

17. Explain the frequent seeming loss of character with the advance of the race life.

18. Why will poor laws and charity organizations cease with the coming of Socialism?

PART VI

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND PROPOGANDA

CHAPTER XLIV

THE NATURE OF A POLITICAL PARTY

805. A Means of Escaping War.—Political parties have arisen in the modern political world as the means of peaceably representing conflicting economic interests in the councils of the state. Political parties are substitutes for, or are the survivals of, the old military organizations by which conflicting economic interests formerly settled their disputes. Public action through political parties is the last remaining alternative, or form and means of contest, next preceding civil war. Sir Henry Maine says: “Man has never been so ferocious or so stupid as to submit to such an evil as war without some kind of effort to prevent it.” The last and most effective of all such peace measures is the device of the elective franchise, and the political party organized to make effective the use of the elective franchise.

806. The Last Alternative.—Whenever the defeated party in an election refuses to submit to the result of the election, there remains no other alternative than a

reversion to the old and only remaining arbiter, that is, a resort to arms.¹

807. The Record.—A brief sketch of the political parties of this country will both illustrate and establish the correctness of this position.

808. The Revolutionary Parties.—The earliest American political parties came into existence as a result of the disputes which led to the Revolutionary War. Those who defended the mother country were called Tories; those who defended the position which finally prevailed in America were called Whigs. They could not come to an understanding, and those who still stood for the mother country were obliged either to surrender to the dominant American party or join the forces of the English army. There was no other alternative—it was submit or fight.

809. The Parties of the Constitution.—When the war was over new questions of administration arose. Some of the colonies, now independent of the mother country, maintained a protective tariff and others free trade. There was no central body with authority to act for all of these new loosely confederated states. Maryland maintained free trade, and Virginia a protective tariff. Imports were landed on the Maryland shore and taken across the Potomac for consumption in Virginia in violation of the laws of that state. The same controversy was carried on between New Jersey and New York; between Rhode Island and the other New England states. A series of conferences representing the conflicting commercial interests led finally to the

1. "Party may lead to civil strife and revolution, but it is far from aiming at violence in its first formation. The violence is the result of opposition."—Woolsey: *Political Science*, Vol. II., p. 543.

"Political power is the ability of certain members of a society physically to force the remaining members to do their will. Government is the sum of the force usable by the rulers and applied to the governed by the instrument of force created for that purpose."—Lane: *The Level of Social Motion*, p. 340.

holding of the constitutional convention for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation so as to enable a central government to deal with this and other commercial questions. The convention immediately proceeded to draft a new constitution. This constitution was submitted to the various states for ratification, and after a prolonged and bitter campaign it was finally adopted. Among its opponents were Patrick Henry, John Hancock, Samuel Adams and others of the most active and well-known supporters of the Revolutionary War, but when the general decision of the states was finally made in behalf of the new constitution, there remained nothing for the opposition within the various states to do but to surrender to this public will or rebel. They chose to surrender.

810. Washington's Cabinet.—In the organization of Washington's cabinet, representative men from both parties which had been developed in the contest regarding the constitution, were made members of the cabinet. Hamilton and Knox, representing those favorable to the constitution, and Jefferson and Randolph, representing the opposition. During Washington's administration, questions of serious dispute were largely fought out in the cabinet meetings, but during the administration of John Adams, the party which had favored the constitution and was now known as the Federalist party, so offended the general public, particularly in what was known as the Alien and Sedition Laws, that the disputes extended beyond the cabinet, beyond the Senate, beyond Congress. Mr. Jefferson became the leader of the party of opposition. He called his new party the Republican party, and became its successful candidate for the presidency. The party which had adopted the constitution, which had conducted the government under the administrations of Washington and Adams, and whose tendency was

claimed to be towards a monarchy, which held Mr. Jefferson to be both dangerous and unwise as a public man, was nevertheless obliged to submit or resort to arms.

811. End of the Federalists.—The new Republican party became the war party in dealing with the commercial questions which led to the Second War with England. The Federalist party was opposed to the war, its most active representatives even going so far as to take steps in the famous Hartford Convention looking to the secession of the New England states, and the return of their allegiance to the mother country. Their purposes were made known to the administration by John Quincy Adams, on account of which action he withdrew from the Federalist party and became a Jeffersonian Republican. When the Second War with England was over, the Federalist party had become so discredited that it practically ceased to exist, and Monroe became the President in the succeeding election as the choice of all parties. For many years American politics dealt with no such serious problems as to force a reorganization along the lines of conflicting economic interests. Politics were personal politics, and American statesmen were contending with each other over offices rather than principles.

812. Whigs and Democrats.—Finally the struggle between President Jackson and the National Bank led the general public to take sides on a direct economic question which again divided the country, with Mr. Jackson and Mr. Clay each contending that he himself was the real successor of Jefferson and the only real Republican; but in order to determine which kind of a Republican each man was, the Jackson Republicans called themselves Democratic Republicans, and the Clay Republicans called themselves Whig Republicans, so that with the dropping of the name Repub-

lican, the Democratic and Whig parties came into existence.

Commercial interests of the very greatest importance were involved in this second election of Mr. Jackson. The war at the ballot box has been rarely equaled for the determination and bitterness with which the campaign was carried on. Mr. Clay was defeated; the National Bank was closed out; interests involving the fortunes of multitudes of Americans were set aside. There was no means by which the conflict could be carried further. The issue had been made at the ballot box; the defeated party was obliged to surrender. There remained no other means of carrying on the warfare except to resort to arms.

813. Back Sighted.—And then again, for many years these parties survived, not because of new questions which divided them, but because of the antagonisms which had been created in the Jackson and Clay campaigns. For a quarter of a century no great question arose, involving a reorganization of political parties along the lines of hotly disputed economic questions. While there were serious disputes on the questions which led to the Mexican War, the most influential partisans of both parties claimed to be the special champions of the American side in the controversy, and political parties were not reorganized on that account.

814. The Northwest Territory.—But the disposition of the Northwestern Territory presented to the American government the greatest economic question with which it had been obliged to deal since its organization.

New England land speculators were buying up the western land and holding it out of use for speculative purposes; southern slave owners were anxious to occupy the western lands and to organize this territory

into great slave plantations; while the frontiersmen, themselves occupying portions of this territory, were equally opposed to the speculators from the East and the plantation owners from the South. They desired these wild lands to be held for actual settlement. They wished this territory to be held free for the use of their own sons on some plan which would make their children neither the victims of the speculators from the East nor competitors with slave labor from the South. They asked for the homestead law as against the speculator and for free soil as against slave labor.

815. Land Speculators and Plantation Owners.—The Whig party was controlled by speculators in the East and by plantation owners in the South; the Democratic party was controlled by speculators in the East and by plantation owners in the South. Both parties were controlled in the Northwest by those opposed alike to the land grabber and the plantation owner. It was impossible for either of the great parties to represent the Northwest and at the same time keep the peace with its southern and eastern constituencies. The Whig party was broken into factions and the Northwest became the leader of that faction of Whigs which, reinforced by Northwestern Democrats, finally became the Republican party. The Democratic party was also broken into factions, and the Northwest became the leader of that faction of the Democratic party which, under the leadership of Mr. Douglas, joined at last with the Northwestern Whigs ostensibly in the defense of the American Union, but really in behalf of the economic interests of the Northwestern states.

816. Surrender or Fight.—In the election of 1860, there were four candidates: Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas both standing for the freedom of the Northwestern Territory, but with different programs for securing that end; Breckenridge and Bell, both standing for

maintaining and protecting the western interests of the eastern speculators and the southern plantation owners. Mr. Lincoln was elected; all other parties were then obliged to surrender the points of controversy and to consent to the freedom of the Northwest Territory both from eastern speculators and southern plantation owners or rebel. The plantation owners chose to rebel. There remained no other possible alternative. They were in a position where it was submit or fight, and they chose to fight. The speculators chose to surrender. The speculators surrendered at the beginning of the Civil War, because they were obliged to fight or surrender, and for the further reason that the Civil War itself furnished a greater opportunity for immediate speculative transactions than had before been offered by the western lands. The scheme of railway land grants was another means by which the speculators were able still to largely monopolize the western land in spite of the homestead act, after having taken sides, early in the war, with the Northwest as against the plantation owners of the South.

The plantation owners surrendered at the close of the war because, having chosen to fight, they had exhausted to the utmost the military resources at their disposal.

817. Voting and Fighting.—In all these instances, it is seen that the party organization is always a possible military organization. Out-voting has always been a preliminary to out-fighting, should the defeated party refuse to abide by the result of a general election. It is, moreover, seen that in every instance the real causes of all these political controversies have always been conflicting economic interests. Always the liberty and the welfare of the people have been the rallying cries of partisan warfare.

818. Ordinary Issues.—But there are many public

questions which are widely discussed and settled by common consent without forcing a reorganization of political parties, and with no threat of war as a possible result of defeat at the ballot box. It will be found on examining these cases that in not a single instance, when questions of public controversy have been so adjusted, were there any interests involved of such a serious nature that those interested on either side were ready to fight rather than surrender. There are no exceptions. Civil war, in all lands and in all times, since organized opposition to the policy of the administration has been tolerated within the state—civil war has always been preceded by the organization or reorganization of political parties along the line of the economic interests in conflict within the state. Foreign wars are caused by conflicting economic interests between the warring nations. It is always taxes, or markets, or tributes, or lands; always a war for economic advantage.

819. The Referendum.—The services which the initiative and referendum can render are made most evident in this connection. It is claimed by some of the friends of the measure that it would abolish party rule, that the people then, by direct vote, would administer their affairs regardless of party lines. It is no doubt true that very many questions could and would be thus settled. Many matters, for example, which, owing to partisan interests, or owing to the pressure of other questions, are now left in neglect, could then be speedily given a hearing and justly settled in accordance with the real public will.

820. Exceeding the Power of the Referendum.—But no question which has ever led to war because of the refusal of the minority to obey the majority vote could have been settled in any such way. No question with regard to which the main controversy will come in

enforcing the decision rather than in securing the majority in its favor, can ever be settled by a referendum. Majorities on questions of that sort are of no avail unless they are so organized as to directly administer the proposed measures, and if necessary to forcibly compel the submission of rebellious minorities. The effort to carry any measure so radical and so far-reaching as the measures which the Socialists propose, by a referendum vote, is like an effort to compel the obedience of an armed and organized army by simply declaring the wishes of an unarmed and unorganized mob.

821. No Political Parties—Mere Appetites for Office.—It will be seen from the above that Burke's remark concerning a political party, made more than a hundred years ago, will still hold. He said: "A political party is a body of men united for promoting, by their joint endeavors, the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed."

If this is correct, and if the above observations are substantially true, it is easily seen that the Democratic and Republican parties in the United States are not now political parties as related to each other. The same economic interests control the country in the event of the victory of either of them. Just as succeeding the Second War with England, political parties degenerated to a personal squabble for place and power; just as after the great contest over the national bank, political parties became again mere organized squabbles for place and power, so now, since the settlement of the questions growing out of the Civil War, political parties in America have again become mere organized squabbles for place and power.

Both the Republican and Democratic parties are the survivals of old controversies between them, and are not now the representatives in politics of conflicting

economic interests, so serious and so determined that nothing less than a resort to an organization or reorganization of party lines along the line of this economic controversy can settle the dispute; and, then, only by recognizing that it will be at last and finally necessary to surrender at the ballot box or resort to arms. No such victories have been won and no such surrenders have been made by either of these parties since the Civil War.

822. There is a Real Question.—There are, however, such conflicting economic interests. They are the interests of the few who are masters in conflict with the interests of the many who are toilers. These conflicting interests are speaking in the strikes, in the lock-outs, in the injunctions, and their voice is heard in the sharp crack of the rapid-firing gun by which the toiler is mercilessly driven back to his unwilling task. These interests will yet speak facing each other at the ballot box. But the Republican and Democratic parties are not on opposite sides of this economic war. Only the reorganization of political parties can make this economic controversy the occasion for a sharp and conclusive struggle at the ballot box, in which struggle, determined and desperate opposing economic interests will first establish the public authority of one party or the other to act in these matters, with the distinct understanding that the party beaten at the ballot box must surrender or fight.

823. A Part of the Legal Machinery.—Until very recently political parties were purely voluntary organizations. They were not required to be organized under the constitutions of the various states, or of the federal government, nor were they regulated by the laws of state or nation. The abuses of party management, the organization of political rings and self-perpetuating political party machines became unendur-

able, and the laws of most states have now established the political party as a regularly organized and legally constituted part of the public machinery of the state. The members of no political party can any longer construct their own machinery, or manage their own affairs entirely in their own way, and in defiance of the general public. No by-laws, charters, committees, conventions, clubs, memberships, discipline, or general party organization or management, are of any force in most states unless they are in compliance with the state laws covering the government of political parties in their purely party affairs.

824. The Primary and Election Laws.—The struggle for primary laws has been a struggle for enforcing the political right of the individual citizen to have voice in the management of the political party whose ticket he votes. It is a part of the movement for universal suffrage. For one's citizenship cannot be complete unless he has a vote within the party and in the management of the party, whose ticket he votes, as well as a vote for the party when elections are held. It is evident that all efforts to limit the management of a political party to a restricted portion of those who vote the ticket, are in their essence a denial of the right of suffrage. They are in distrust of and an attempted thwarting of the popular will. The primary laws are simply an effort to establish the right of franchise in the government of parties, as well as in government by parties.

825. National Parties Purely Voluntary.—In the national organization, no such legal control of political parties has yet been undertaken and national conventions and national committees may be elected, organized and controlled in any way the political parties may themselves determine.

But state political party organizations only are

legally recognized within the states. They are the only parties legally understood to be in existence, and within the states, the state election and primary laws must be added to, and must in many particulars determine the nature of, party rules and regulations.

826. New Parties—Petitions.—New political parties secure the right to vote in such states, not because of their party organizations, but because of petitions signed by a certain percentage of the citizens. Then the new party's candidates come under the laws governing petitions, not parties. Whenever the new party is large enough to secure legal standing and may act as a party, then the control of the party management in most states falls, to a great extent, under the control of the state primary laws.

While these primary laws have undertaken to extend and protect the popular franchise, it should not be overlooked that they give to the party in power the means of seriously interfering with the organization or re-organization of other political parties. It is even possible, by such an abuse of the primary laws, to so embarrass a minority party, especially a new party, as to make its existence practically impossible.

827. Disfranchising Minorities.—Parties in power must not forget that this may be carried to the point of practically disfranchising large numbers of people interested in measures not represented by existing parties, and so, by excluding them from the only peaceable means of being heard in the councils of state, incite to disturbance the very people who are seeking for a peaceful adjustment of conflicting interests.

828. Summary.—1. The political party is the last remaining alternative next preceding civil war.

2. Political controversies of such a serious nature as to involve the re-organization of political parties are always economic controversies.

3. Questions not so seriously disputed may be and ought to be settled by referendum without party representation or support.

4. The current political parties in this country are the survivals of organizations created by questions already settled. They are not the representatives of current clashing economic interests.

5. The controlling power in both the Democratic and Republican parties is the economic interest of the masters—the toilers are unrepresented except by the Socialists.

6. Political parties have no legal existence except under the state laws. The primary election laws are a part of the rules and regulations of all political parties.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. How is a political party related to war?
2. Quote Sir Henry Maine.
3. Give an account of the American political parties, past and present, of their organization and their relation to economic controversies.
4. Why may ordinary questions be settled by a referendum?
5. Why may not controversies of the most serious nature be so settled?
6. Why are the Republican and Democratic parties not real political parties?
7. How are both of them related to the most important current economic controversy?
8. What is the greatest political question of the present?
9. In what way are political parties related to the state laws?
10. How are new parties now enabled to enter the field?
11. If new political parties are prevented from organizing, in what way must revolutionary measures again be fought out within the state?

CHAPTER XLV

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

829. Early Organizations.—The earliest efforts at realizing the co-operative commonwealth, it has been seen in Chapter XIX, were attempts to organize co-operative colonies. When the scientific defense for the proposals of the Socialists finally made its appearance it was during the time when all Europe was engaged in a series of political revolutions.¹ The earliest organizations were necessarily more of an educational than a political nature, more for the purpose of making the ideas of the Socialists generally understood than for the purpose of directly organizing for the purpose of putting them into actual operation. The forms of organization were necessarily of the nature of clubs, purely voluntary, never with any legal standing, and they frequently existed in spite of the direct prohibition of the public statutes.

830. Half a Century Ago.—While scientific Socialism and the organizations which have finally developed into the Socialist political parties of Europe were

1. A series of political revolutionary movements covered all Europe, culminating in the revolutions which sent to London as political refugees the authors of the Communist Manifesto. This was published in 1848. It was the first and still remains the most widely read of the standard international utterances of the scientific Socialists.

making their beginnings abroad, the people of the United States were engaged in a series of political controversies leading to the Civil War, and then in a series of other controversies resulting from the Civil War. More than half a century ago utopian Socialism had a strong following in the United States and not infrequently these utopian Socialists became active factors in the political activities of those days.²

831. In America.—But interests of this sort were unable to secure any hearing in the face of the great controversies leading to and resulting from the Civil War; and when the interests of the working people commenced again to manifest themselves in American politics it was with relation to the questions directly involved in the financial policies of the government during and following the Civil War. The great preponderance of agricultural voters in this country

2. Even the word "Socialism" is an American product and was first applied to the activities of the utopian Socialists of this country. One of the political organizations in New York, which finally developed into the Republican party, was in its earliest activities controlled by the Socialists. The Workingman's Party in New York in 1835, thirteen years before the writing of the "Communist Manifesto" declared for the following platform:

- "I. The right of man to the soil: Vote yourself a farm.
- "II. Down with monopolies, especially the United States bank.
- "III. Freedom of the public lands.
- "IV. Homesteads made inalienable.
- "V. Abolition of all laws for the collection of debts.
- "VI. A general bankrupt law.
- "VII. A lien of the laborer upon his own work for his wages.
- "VIII. Abolition of imprisonment for debt.
- "IX. Equal rights for women with men in all respects.
- "X. Abolition of chattel slavery and of wages slavery.
- "XI. Land limitation to one hundred and sixty acres—no person, after the passage of the law, to become possessed of more than that amount of land. But when a land monopolist died, his heirs were to take each his legal number of acres, and be compelled to sell the over-plus, using the proceeds as they pleased.

"XII. Mails, in the United States, to run on the Sabbath."

They elected two members of the state legislature and turned the majority vote of New York to Andrew Jackson in the following presidential election. The Jackson newspapers published regularly during the campaign the above platform at the head of their editorial columns. (See Charles Sotheran: *Horace Greeley and Other Pioneers of American Socialism*, pp. 83-87.)

and their complete control of American politics for more than half of the lifetime of the republic has heretofore given shape to the political activities of labor from the standpoint of the self-employed farmer seeking protection as a property owner, rather than from the standpoint of working men regardless of small properties.

832. The Populists.—The revolutionary spirit which characterized the early Populist movement in the western states was, and was understood to be, by those most actively engaged in it, a struggle for the rights of “labor as against capital.” In the first national convention held in Cincinnati, on May 19, 1891, the state of Kansas sent more than one-fourth of all the delegates assembled from all the states of the Union. Many of the most active workers in the Kansas delegation were avowed Socialists and did not hesitate in their public utterances then, nor have they at any time since, to declare for outright Socialism. More votes were polled for the Populist party in Kansas than in any other state, and while single taxers and others were active in the movement, the revolutionary spirit which demanded the rights of the toilers as against the exploiters was the most marked characteristic of the Populist campaign. The platform utterances were by no means Socialism nor even Socialistic. But while the labor declarations, which in other platforms were simply perfunctory utterances, made with the hope of enlisting the support of wage workers, the platform utterances of the Populists in this respect are seen to have been expressive of a coming revolution, when the sincerity of these utterances is remembered and their significance is understood.³ On their

3. “The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of these, in turn, despise the Republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we

lips the watchword of "Equal Rights to All and Special Privileges to None," was both sincere and revolutionary.

That the party was finally captured by the Democratic politicians, and at last became reactionary in its general character, in no way affects the truth of the position that in its spirit and in its original purpose the Populist party was an expression of the same revolutionary tendencies in American society which, in the course of half a century of steady development, have grown at last into the political Socialist movement. It is admitted that the Populist literature was unscientific; that the Populist proposals were insufficient; and it is remembered that the Populist party was utterly destroyed in the conflicts between the Democratic and Republican organizations; and yet its career was an important incident in the evolution of the American Socialist movement.

833. Imported Socialism.—The earliest political organizations of scientific Socialists in this country were undertaken, not by native Americans, or as a result of the political and economic evolution of this country, but by Socialists of foreign birth, who brought with them the philosophy and the organization resulting from the forms of political life and the stage of the economic development of European countries. Socialist meetings were held, and Socialist organizations effected in which the business was transacted in foreign tongues, and the opponents of Socialism created the

breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires. * * * A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once it forebodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization, or the establishment of an absolute despotism. * * * Believing that the forces of reform this day organized will never cease to move forward until every wrong is remedied and equal rights and equal privileges securely established for all the men and women of this country." From the National People's Party Platform, adopted at Omaha, Neb., July 4, 1892.

very general impression that Socialism itself was a matter of foreign importation; that the political institutions and economic forces of America were necessarily of such a character that Socialism was not only foreign, but could not possibly have a rational and vital existence on American soil. It was not until after the collapse of the Populist party, together with the recent and remarkable development of American industry, that the Socialist program, the Socialist propaganda, and the Socialist political party came to their day of opportunity in America.

834. Inherent in American Life.—The economic evolution outlined by Karl Marx is now more advanced in America than anywhere else. The political revolution which this economic development renders inevitable is at hand, in America, not because of imported agitators or translated Socialist propaganda documents, as its opponents contend, or solely or mainly because of the active support of adopted citizens who brought their Socialism with them, but simply because it is the logical outcome of the local economic and political situation.

835. Economics and Politics.—Economic conditions have always determined political organizations and controversies. Either the economic conflict between the exploiters and the exploited must be speedily adjusted or the Socialist party must grow into power and the co-operative commonwealth come into existence. But this will not be because the Socialists are personally better or wiser men than others, not because the Socialists are faultless. It will be in spite of their faults and because there is no other way of settling this economic controversy. The conflict is irrepressible. It must be fought to a finish. It can be fought to a finish nowhere else than in the field of politics.

836. Only Two Sides.—There are only two sides to this conflict. Capitalism is on one side and Socialism on the other. If capitalism continues to control, then the working class must continue to exist under capitalism because society cannot exist without the workers. So long as these classes exist with antagonistic economic interests, so long this economic conflict must last. But if Socialism prevails capitalism will cease to exist. Capitalists will cease to be capitalists and will become useful members of society. The conflict will be over because only one side to the struggle will have survived. Therefore, regardless of the goodness or wisdom of individual capitalists and of the baseness or folly of individual Socialists the conflict must last until Socialism is established.⁴

837. Economic Determinism and Politics.—The Socialist party is being developed in America as explained by the principles of economic determinism (Chapters II-III), and in accordance with the political institutions of America. That the Populist party has disappeared as a factor in American politics is of great advantage in the development of the Socialist movement. The sole party of opposition with any promise of strength in the contest with the Republican and Democratic parties is now the Socialist party. By wise councils and great activity, the Socialist party can and will hold this position. There is no other alternative. The economic enemies of the arrogance and the robberies inherent in capitalism can find standing room nowhere else because Socialism is the only possible working program for the working man's side of this

4. "On the ground of the class struggle we are invincible; if we leave it we are lost, because we are no longer Socialists. The strength and power of Socialism rests in the fact that we are leading a class struggle; that the laboring class is exploited and oppressed by the capitalist class, and that within capitalist society effectual reforms, which will put an end to class government and class exploitation, are impossible."—Liebknecht: No Compromise, p. 56.

economic class struggle. The inadequate measures of the Populists, supported by an effort to organize a political party devoted to labor, but in the end controlled by the capitalists, have been proven futile. To capture either of the old parties and by any process whatsoever convert it into the political representative of the working class is and has been repeatedly proven to be impossible. The program of fusion between political parties representing irreconcilable economic interests has been proven unwise, and the efforts to realize anything for the working class by such a program hopeless.⁵

838. The American Vanguard.—Socialist parties in other countries have attempted their work and grown to great strength in spite of many legal restrictions and political disabilities which do not exist in this country. The elective franchise is more universal here than elsewhere, the right of free speech more carefully guarded, the traditions and prejudices of American political life and institutions are more on the side of freedom, more in behalf of equal opportunity, and the economic development more complete in America, and hence, the hour for the inauguration of the co-operative commonwealth nearer at hand in this than in any other country.

839. Her Historical Trend Toward Socialism.—With the historical glorification of rebellion against parties in power; with the example of party organization, or reorganization repeatedly undertaken and forced to successful issue by American statesmen, and those statesmen the most honored in American society;

5. "But when one political party proposes to fuse with another in open conflict with what it deems the ruling interest, in the nature of the case, it is, in effect, a proposition to abandon the occasion of its own existence for the sake of the temporary advantage of its candidates—a proposition essentially and necessarily corrupt. The only honest thing for such a party to do is 'to go out of business.'"—Walter Thomas Mills: *Science of Politics*, published in 1887.

with no hereditary royalty; with no acknowledged aristocracy; with no special shielding of public authorities from the severest criticism;—together with all these there exists almost universal contempt for the policies, the committees and the programs of the old political parties, even by those who most regularly vote their tickets;—these are some of the favorable conditions under which the Socialists are making a beginning as a party in American politics.

840. Partisan Pitfalls.—It must not be understood from the foregoing that there are no dangers in the way of the Socialist party. There are many and they are very serious.

841. Fusion.—1. The danger from fusion.

The author of these pages has recently been engaged in a long correspondence with a gentleman whose convictions are entirely those of the Socialist, but who is unable to persuade himself to join the Socialist party because of his experience in the Populist party and the destruction of that party through fusion. It is an easy thing to denounce fusion when there is no one with whom to fuse. If a labor union party should be organized, with a platform declaring for factory laws, for shorter working hours, for certain special advantages to the wage workers under capitalism, it would not be an easy matter to hold the Socialist movement to its complete revolutionary program. The only possible safeguard is the strictest possible regulations in the Socialist party organization against all endorsements, fusions, compromises, bargains or mutual understandings of any sort whatever with any other political party regardless of its name, its purpose, or its platform.⁶

6. "All who are weary and heavy laden; all who suffer under injustice; all who suffer from the outrages of the existing bourgeois society; all who have in them the feeling of the worth of humanity, look to us, turn hopefully to us, as the only party that can bring rescue and de-

842. Capture By Its Foes.—2. Another danger is the capture of the Socialist party and the control of its organization, its name, its platform, and its world-wide prestige by men who are not Socialists, or who, while they believe in the economics of Socialism, nevertheless attempt to practice tactics either morally repulsive or politically outgrown. To prevent this is a more difficult matter. Many of the proposals offered in this connection simply mean that the party can be kept spotlessly pure by being held forever uselessly small.

843. Primary Laws.—Under the primary laws of most states, the men who vote the ticket, and in many, those who affirm their intention of so doing, are legally given voice in the control of the party's councils.⁷ So long as the party exists only by petition it can govern itself in whatever way it may choose, but as soon as it becomes an official party, the laws of the various states determine largely the method of its government, and practically who shall and who shall not be permitted to vote in its primaries, that is, have voice in nominating candidates, electing committees and in writing platforms.

844. No National Primary Laws.—Fortunately for the purposes of the Socialist party, no such legal regulations have yet been enacted regarding the organization and control of national political parties; hence, the national organization, by refusing recognition to such state organizations, in all national matters, as are not satisfactory in the form of their organization

liverance, and if we, the opponents of this unjust world of violence, suddenly reach out the hand of brotherhood to it, conclude alliances with its representatives, invite our comrades to go hand and hand with the enemy, whose misdeeds have driven the masses into our camp, what confusion must result in their minds! How can the masses longer believe in us?"—Liebknecht: No Compromise, p. 42.

7. Even the name of the Socialist party is not used in New York and in Wisconsin on account of state election laws, while in most states the laws specifically provide that no one who votes the ticket of any party shall be refused a vote at its primaries.

or the nature of their work, can provide some safeguard against the corruption of the party in any of the states. In this way, those who are not regularly elected, dues-paying members of the local organizations within the states can be refused any voice in the management of national affairs, and the national organization so guarded can refuse recognition to any party in a state whose local action may be found to be in violation of the constitution, or the platform or the rules of organization established by the national party.

845. Limiting the Membership.—It has been proposed to limit the party membership within the states, and state party constitutional regulations have been written and proposed with a view of forbidding many of those who vote the ticket from being able to obtain representation in the party councils. Without regard to whether this policy is a wise one, it will not be possible to practice it, in most states, under the operation of the primary laws, whenever the party shall have become strong enough to maintain a legal existence under the primary laws. On the whole it may be taken for granted that, in the long run, those who vote the Socialist ticket will control the Socialist party, and that no devices for preventing this can long postpone or ultimately prevent such a result.

846. Heresy Trials.—The heresy hunt is equally futile. A man's voice in the councils of the Socialist party will not long remain subject to the approval of a trial board established to determine his orthodoxy under a semi-political and semi-ecclesiastical organization of a Socialist club.⁸

847. Withholding Charters.—The giving and with-

8. "Diversity of opinions on theoretical points is never dangerous to the party. There are for us no bounds to criticism, and however great our respect may be for the founders and pioneers of our party, we recognize no infallibility and no other authority than science, whose sphere is ever widening and continually proves what it previously held as truths

holding of charters within state organizations are not recognized by the state laws, and will have little force in the control of the local organizations, whenever these organizations come to such strength and power as will promise control in local elections, should they be made the means of attempting to enforce unreasonable party regulations.

848. Only Rational Methods Can Prevail.—Whatever is done to safeguard the Socialist party, if it is to be finally effective, must be so just and so reasonable that it will command the confidence and respect of the whole body of the Socialist voters, and it cannot be in violation of the requirements of the state election laws.

849. Disfranchisement a Failure.—It is impossible to safeguard any nation by disfranchising any share of its citizens; it is impossible to safeguard any political party by refusing voice and vote to any share of those who regularly vote its ticket. Socialism is not coming into existence because of the shrewdness or the wisdom of the Socialist committees; the Socialist party is not coming into existence because a minority organization of those who want Socialism are in favor of their own party. Both Socialism and the political organization which will secure Socialism are the inevitable products of the current political and economic development. As the numbers of those who want Socialism increase, they will refuse to ask permission of any committee or of any organization as to whether they may or may not be Socialists, and the state primary laws will protect their political rights in maintaining this refusal.

850. The Only Safeguard.—The one safeguard,

to be errors; destroys the old, decayed foundations and creates new ones; does not stand still for an instant; but in perpetual advance moves remorselessly over every dogmatic belief."—Liebknecht: *No Compromise*, p. 37.

the only safeguard that is necessary, and the one which must prove itself all-sufficient, is to multiply the number of those who, because they understand Socialism, really and genuinely want Socialism, from among those who have everything to gain and nothing to lose from the speedy overthrow of capitalism, and who, understading the situation, therefore, cannot be misled in the councils of the Socialist party.

851. Discipline of Politicians by Politicians.—Discipline cannot save the Socialist party from the fate of having those who do not understand the situation misled by designing politicians. The politician is as likely to manage a machine created for that purpose as he is to be subject to its disinterested control. But general intelligence among the members, more complete and more universal knowledge of Socialism, a clearer understanding of the nature as well as of the necessity for a political party, and a wider and more active participation on the part of all its members in the party control will develop a political party which cannot be corrupted or destroyed in its struggle for the co-operative commonwealth.

852. Censorship.—No official censorship of Socialist literature, no official silencing of Socialist speakers, no official declaration of what the Socialists shall be permitted to hear or what they shall be permitted to read can save the Socialist party from dismemberment or betrayal. Such means may easily destroy a political party, but they cannot save it. This would be especially true in this country, where the struggle for free speech, a free press and a fair fight in all political controversies have been so frequently made by the most advanced and radical portions of American society.

853. Doctrinal Purity.—But it is urged that "soundness of doctrine" can be secured only by official organs and official representatives on the platform. Oth-

erwise any one may publish who can find readers and any one may speak who can find hearers. And it may occur that those who are poorly informed or who are purposely misleading may be able in this way to secure the widest hearing and that it is easier by official censure to silence such a person than to answer his arguments or defeat his proposals by other and better measures.

The answer to all this is that this argument is very familiar. This is the same argument that has been used in defense of all the imprisonments, exiles and executions for opinion's sake for all the centuries of the past.

The Socialist who would attempt to protect the "doctrinal purity" of his party by an official censorship of the activities of its members could hardly complain if the public authorities in any particular city, attempting, in the same way to enforce their censorship, in an effort to protect the "doctrinal purity" of the community should send him to jail as the most effective method of silencing an agitator.

854. Voice of the Minority.—It is a dangerous and unwise thing for the Socialists, who are enduring imprisonment and outrage everywhere for the sake of freedom of speech as related to others, to speak slightly of the contention for freedom of speech among the Socialists themselves.

855. Free Speech and Majority Rule.—Among Socialists, as among all parliamentary bodies, majorities must rule. But no group of men have ever worked together who can so illy afford to treat lightly the rights of minorities within their own ranks. Only those who are conscious of the weakness of their position would fear debate. Only those who know they cannot maintain their position by free discussion in a free field ever attempt to discredit an opponent or disfranchise

an antagonist as a means of defense. This is the position of all Socialists in their contests with others. It must be their watchword and their safeguard in disputes among themselves. Hear all sides, read all sides, understand all sides, and in that free field and fair fight of open discussion among Socialists, the man who does not understand will be powerless to harm, and whoever does understand will be unable to mislead, not because of the faith of the membership in any man or book, but because the Socialists themselves will fully know the necessity of keeping their party free from all complications with other parties or entanglements with any measures not clearly in behalf of the working class and tending directly toward the utter and lasting overthrow of capitalism.⁹

856. Summary.—1. The Socialist movement is inherent in the economic and industrial development in the United States after the same manner as in all other countries.

2. The questions leading to and growing out of the Civil War occupied the public thought of the United States for a quarter of a century. This quarter of a century commenced with America in the lead in the Socialist movement. It closed with America in the lead in economic development. All economic and political forces are now culminating in a situation which promises the speedy victory of Socialism in this country.

3. The great predominance of agricultural workers in the United States over all other workers for so large a share of the life of the republic has made the preliminary political activities of this country, which naturally lead to Socialism more largely in behalf of work-

9. "In the present society, a non-capitalist government is an impossibility. The unfortunate Socialist who casts in his lot with such a government if he will not betray his class only condemns himself to impotency."—Leibknecht: No Compromise.

ers who were also small property holders than in other countries.

4. The Populist movement was such a movement. But its work and its disappearance lead directly to the outright Socialist propaganda in this country. It moreover leaves the Socialist party the sole party of opposition as against all capitalist parties.

5. The political democracy which has been fought for during the three hundred years of American history and which has been so largely established in this country, makes the victory of industrial democracy all the easier and enforces the necessity of maintaining complete democratic self-government of the Socialist party by all Socialists more necessary and more inevitable than in any other country.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. What was the nature of the first Socialist organizations?
2. What was the condition of the Socialist movement in America half a century ago?
3. What series of events seriously interfered with the development of Socialist organizations?
4. What effect did this same series of events have on the economic development?
5. Why were the earlier working class movements in politics complicated with measures looking to the relief of small property owners?
6. How was the Populist movement related to the development of the Socialist political organizations?
7. How were the recent political Socialist organizations related to the movement in other countries? Is Socialism "foreign" to America?
8. How are economics related to politics?
9. Why can there be only two political parties as related to the economic class struggle?
10. What facts in American life will make the movement in this country one of rapid growth?
11. What is the danger from fusion?
12. What is the danger from enemies of the movement becoming active in the party work?
13. Can the Socialists protect the integrity of their movement by adopting a plan securing a limited membership?
14. How will the primary laws affect the party management?
15. What is the only safe-guard?

CHAPTER XLVI

A QUESTION BOX

857. Equal Income.—Q. Will all the people have the same income under Socialism?

A. Socialism will bar from any income those who are able-bodied and render no service, and will so organize industry as to save the waste involved in capitalism. The workers may have equal incomes at one time and unequal ones at another. The joint workers will themselves determine how they will divide their joint products.

858. Dividing With the Helpless.—Q. If the helpless are to be cared for, how then will the workers get the full product of their labor?

A. The helpless are provided for now by the workers, not by the idlers. Under Socialism the cost of improvements, the repairs and provision for the young and the helpless, will be necessary shares of the social cost of production. The net products only can go to the producers, but from the net products no deductions will be made for rent, interest or profit.

859. The Share of the Machines.—Q. Does not machinery have a large share in production? Will the machines be given a share of the products?

A. Yes, all the oil needed to keep down friction and avoid waste, together with all the care and improvements necessary to enable the machine to fulfill the "end of its being" will be provided for machines, then, just as now—and for working people, too, then but not as now. The machine will not be neglected nor the workers robbed for the benefit of those who are not workers.

860. The Lazy.—Q. Ought the industrious to be compelled to divide up with the lazy?

A. No, but they are obliged to do so now. When the rendering of service shall be the sole condition on which the able-bodied shall be able to secure the benefits of the services of others, then the able-bodied who are lazy will go hungry or go to work. Now they are frequently able to escape work either through the power which the private ownership of productive property, which others must use, gives to them, or by resorting to begging. The lazy who rob and the lazy who beg will never again live at the expense of those who toil.

861. The Incentive.—Q. Will there not be a lack of sufficient incentive to action under Socialism?

A. Yes, there will be no incentive at all to adulterate food, to put shoddy in clothing, to steal, to defraud, to rob, or to hold a private title to lands or tools which are collectively used, for when all can have the free use of lands and tools no one will submit to being exploited in order to use either lands or tools; hence, the motive for owning what others use will disappear while, inasmuch as it will be easier and safer to earn a living than to steal it, the motive for every form of theft will also disappear.

Not so, however, for all kinds of worthy activities. Now men work for a part of what they produce and get so small an income that they have neither time nor strength for anything else. Then life will be just as dear as now, but by increasing the income and shortening the hours those who toil may add to the interests of life the whole range of social and intellectual activities. Socialism will not destroy the incentive to worthy action. It will preserve every worthy motive to action now in force and add the whole force of the higher range of life's most serious interests to the lives of the workers. But within the field of economic interests only it is certain that any reasonable man would work harder for all he produces than for only a share.

862. Boss Rule.—Q. Is not your proposal to manage the industries by majority rule dangerous? Do you want a "Tammany boss" to manage the shops and mines?

A. That is exactly what we have now. The same economic masters who control all the great industrial and commercial interests of the country are also the masters back of all the corrupt political bosses in existence. So long as capitalism remains, the "Tammany boss" or bosses worse than the "Tammany bosses" will control both the workshop and the ballot box. The boss cannot be overthrown in politics so long as he is permitted to remain in business.

863. The Socialist Boss.—Q. Will not the Socialists develop bosses among themselves?

A. They will not need to develop them. They will come into the Socialist movement with the life-habit of capitalism strongly entrenched in all their methods of procedure. It is because of this that there is no more important matter for the Socialists than to guard against boss rule in their own organizations. But the important point here is, that just so far as the Socialist movement falls under the control of any boss in its own management it makes itself incapable of overthrowing the

industrial boss. Surely we can trust the people not to accept a "political boss" in exchange for a "shop boss." Capitalism cannot live without the boss, both in the shop and at the ballot box. Socialism cannot come without the overthrow of the boss both in the shop and at the ballot box.

864. Religion.—Q. Does not Socialism make war on religion?

A. No. Capitalism does. There is not a single religious precept for the government of human conduct which is not contrary to the established maxims and usages of capitalism. Socialism makes the only economic proposals ever made for organizing industry and commerce in a manner not in violation of the practical precepts of all the great religions.

865. Attacking the Rich.—Q. Does not Socialism attack the rich?

A. No. Socialism will make possible the abolition of involuntary poverty. Under Socialism the means of life will be so abundant that no one would ever be distinguished above his fellows simply because he was thought to be secure against want. The Socialist does not object to wealth. What he objects to is the monopoly of the means of producing wealth.

866. The Family.—Q. Will not Socialism destroy the family?

A. The family can be greatly injured either by cutting off its means of support or by so lowering the general average of human character that the qualities which are essential to the maintenance of the family will be found to be lacking among the people. In both of these particulars it is capitalism which is at fault. It puts the proper support of a family beyond the reach of most men, and then so exhausts the vitality, so engages in long hours of toil, so exposes to conditions of temptation the great body of the workers that the home qualities are found to be largely lacking among the workers, while among the idle rich, who so ruthlessly invade the unprotected homes of the poor, by the very wrongs they commit against the poor man's family, disqualify themselves for entering into the real life of real families of their own.

It is true that the marriage of the future will not be entered into for any economic consideration because of the economic equality of opportunity for all the people. Those who contend that economic equality will destroy the home must hold that mercenary motives are the only ones sufficient to lead to marriage. Socialists believe that when people will no longer need to marry for bread that there are other and better reasons which will still lead them to do so.

867. Anarchists.—Are not Socialists anarchists?

A. There are many kinds of anarchists. If Kropotkin, Tolstoi, William Penn and all other non-resistants are meant in this question, then it may be readily admitted that many Socialists are non-resistants. But this question is usually meant to mean, are not Socialists laying plans to kill the rulers and destroy the governments? To this the answer is perfectly evident and altogether conclusive. The Socialists are everywhere trying to capture the powers of the government by peaceful, constitutional methods in order that the government may be

administered by all and in behalf of all who are willing to give service for service. In all this there is no threat of violence, no purpose to disturb the peace and good order of organized society. It is the capitalists who threaten that should the Socialists come into control of the government, that then the capitalists will refuse to obey the law.

868. Class Hatred.—Q. Are not the Socialists preaching class hatred?

A. No. Class hatred arises from a clashing of class interests. Capitalists deplore class hatred and insist on perpetuating the economic system which creates, maintains and sets over against each other the economic classes. Socialists also deplore class hatred, but they propose to remove the cause by fighting out to an end the class war and by securing a victory for economic justice and thus make an end of the economic war and of the economic classes, and so finally make an end of class hatred.

869. Paying Dues.—Q. Why do the Socialists have a dues-paying system in a political party?

A. (1) Because those interested in any measure ought to pay the cost of its promotion. (2) Because if the Socialist party is ever to come into power large sums of money must be expended in the support of the party. If these sums are provided by voluntary contributions taken in an irregular way the burden will fall heavily on a few. If all pay small sums, and do so regularly, no one will be seriously burdened and the cause will be supported. (3) All should have equal right to be heard in a political party. But the dependence of the party on the payments of a few would give to that few undue influence in the councils of the party.

CHAPTER XLVII.

HOW TO WORK FOR SOCIALISM

870. It is the purpose of this chapter to consider how one who desires to work for Socialism may do so most effectively.

871. Previous Training.—In the first place, it ought to be said that the ordinary training and experience of a political party worker will not be of any value in this undertaking. You cannot urge the immediate personal advantage of an immediate party triumph. The bribes of offices and jobs and contracts for yourself or friends, wherein the gain of the party may be to the advantage of the partisan, cannot now, or at any time, be used to make votes for Socialism. Your party promises that the men who work for Socialism and the men who work against Socialism shall alike secure its benefits when Socialism shall have won the day. Neither will there be a chance to make votes for your party by any effort to mislead or deceive the voters. No form of coercion can be used to increase the number of Socialists. You cannot depend on some favorite leader to make his followers Socialists. The leader in politics is but the same thing as the boss in business. You must go after the men, not after their leaders. The voter must be delivered from the leader.

He must be delivered to himself. You can never gain anything by misrepresentation or exaggeration. When you speak with all truth and fairness your arguments will seem so strange and your figures so startling that thoughtful men are sure to sift them thoroughly if you are able to win their attention.

872. Choosing the Place of Battle.—The weapons of your warfare are of a different sort. You must pick your place of battle in another field. You must speak of the things men love and live for; your appeal must be for the welfare of all, for the rights of childhood, for the security of the aged, for life and leisure for all the workers, for the peace of society, for the brotherhood of the race. You must address the understanding. You must inform, convince, persuade, unite to yourself in the most genuine comradeship, and then fill with enthusiasm for the common cause. You must make of every new man a new worker who will help to build and not help to wreck the party of Socialism.

In what way can you best do these things?

873. A Blank Book.—It will be found that in every department of endeavor that a man succeeds best, other things being equal, who will train himself in the use of a note book. You should get a pocket blank book and pencil as the first item in your equipment. In this book write day by day the things you intend to do and the things you have succeeded in doing for your party. Nothing will be of importance enough to take any of your time which will not also be of importance enough to make a note of it. Then at least once a week mark up the book. By this, I mean check off the things you have accomplished and make out a new list of the things in hand for the succeeding week.

874. Your Country.—The victory of Socialism means the changing of the views of many millions of people. Do not try to reach them all. You could not

do that. You can reach a few of them. Try to do what you can do. Select from your friends or neighbors the men and women whom you have reason to believe would be most likely to be influenced by you. Write these names in your blank book. Give each person a full page, and as you go on with your work make your notes about each person on his own page. Now bear in mind that you are to be an effective worker for your party just in proportion as you are able to reach these people. This company of people becomes your country, in that so far as you can change the institutions of your country you must do so by first changing the views of these people. If your citizenship is to have any power beyond your own ballot it must be by the voices and ballots of these people.

They may be likened to a jury before whom you are trying the case of Socialism. To win your case you must convince the jury. It is more than likely that these neighbors of yours are good jurors. If you can make your case clear enough and strong enough you will be able to win your case.

875. Selecting Your Jury—Men to Avoid.—In this matter of selecting the people whose names shall be on your list you must be careful of your men. Selecting your jury goes a long way toward winning your case.

In making up this list do not put the name of any one on the list who, for any reason, you may think would be unwilling to see you. Don't become the advocate of Socialism among the people who do not like you. There are others. Make up your list of those with no personal quarrel with yourself.

Do not put on your list any names of those whom you know would feel that Socialism is in any way an attack on their personal interests. As a rule, those who are large capitalists or are the special clerks and family dependents of large capitalists, pastors and officers

of churches where the capitalist is master, active politicians in other parties, office holders, bankers and bank clerks, or any one else who would be likely to feel satisfied with things as they are—none of these ought to be on your list. You will find public spirited and capable people among them, and as you do, be sure to put them on your jury, but they are likely to feel that their interests are opposed to Socialism. Their turn is coming when they, too, will find in Socialism the only escape from the commercial suicide of capitalism, but as a rule, you can do better work with those more likely to listen to you.

In the next place, do not put any one on your jury who cannot think. The man who will not think may change his mind. The man who cannot think has no mind to change. Only those capable of understanding can be made Socialists. So much for the people to be let alone.

876. Whom to Select.—Here are the people you must be sure to have on your list:

All wage workers, whether men, women or children, and then salesmen, expressmen, the employes of the great corporations, the mail carriers, small business men, teachers and professional men whose occupation removes them farthest from the petty interferences of the large capitalists.

We have seen how the men in the trades unions are accustomed to assert their independence of their employers, and are furthermore familiar with the necessity and advantage of organization. Do not forget the small farmers, farm tenants and farm hands. They have shown their ability to act independently in politics. Their interests are entirely with the Socialists. We have seen that no one will be more benefited by Socialism than they. No one is so far from and so free from the direct control of capitalists as they. No

one can be more easily reached than they. No one is being more seriously misled regarding Socialism than they. The capitalists are most pitilessly robbing the farmer, and at the same time depending on him to prevent the coming of Socialism.

And again, do not neglect the women and the minors. It is not only new voters but new workers for new voters that are wanted. Socialism means more for women than it does for men. Women will make most effective workers, and you must have them in your organizations and in large numbers.

As to minors, the boys will soon be voters, but regardless of that fact, even children understand Socialism easily and become enthusiastic for its triumph. Nothing can be a surer guarantee of the future of Socialism than the way the young people take hold of the idea and the determination with which they go to work for it. Boys and girls twelve years old or over will be found valuable workers in many ways, and your organization must have a place for them.

877. Where to Begin.—Always work with the easiest man first. The story is told of a man engaged in unloading wood who was pulling the wood from the bottom of the load and with great difficulty. Some one suggested taking the sticks from the top first, only to be told that they were loose on top and would come off any time. But as the loose ones were taken off that would loosen the rest. So in the growth of our party, get the man who will come easiest. That in itself will make the next man's coming easier. And thus from one to another until you have reached and won your whole jury.

878. How to Reach Them—Conversations.—As the first means of reaching your jury of neighbors must be named conversations with them. In this matter it is usually best to be as direct as in presenting any other matter of importance. If you were trying to get your

neighbor to take out an insurance policy in some company or society, in which you were interested, you would never think of beginning by nagging at him or bantering with him and provoking disputes in the presence of others. You would be likely to say to your neighbor that you had in mind a matter of importance which you wished very much to talk over with him at length and alone. You would secure an appointment with him for the purpose. You should tell him when you make the appointment for this purpose that you are deeply interested in Socialism and that you want to explain to him some of the things that Socialism would surely accomplish if put into operation, and the reasons which have compelled you yourself to become a Socialist. If you have selected the right man and approach him frankly and in a kindly manner you are likely to get your hearing. If you do not, go to the next man until the hearing does come. Be sure that you do not arrange for him to get his neighbors together to see you "beat" some one in an argument. What you want is to win him to your party. He must think coolly if he is to understand, and the spirit of personal strife is not in keeping with the spirit of investigation. You have gotten him interested to the point of wishing to know. Be sure that he gets the main points in the Socialist program and that he understands them. You can do this work very much better, one man at a time, and that man alone with yourself during the interview. Under no circumstances dispute or wrangle or banter in these talks. He is your juror, and you must convince him if you are to win your case. The cause of Socialism depends on your work now, and you must not be tripped into the use of angry words or into any utterance which may widen the breach between you and your juror and which you must fill before he can come over where you are.

Be prepared in these interviews as far as possible to discuss the topics, in which the juror is most likely to be interested. If he is a small merchant, then the great department store and the ultimate public market, greater than the greatest store, the benefits of which will come to all, should be your topic. If he is a trade unionist, then speak of the battle of organized labor, the presence of the unemployed, the desirability of having all the workers in the organization, and finally the natural coming of Socialism in compliance with the central demand of the unions for shorter hours, larger returns to the worker, and all workers provided employment in the regular organization of industry. If he is out of employment explain how, under capitalism, no party nor policy can in any way provide employment for all the people all of the time, and how Socialism will make certain for all who wish to toil the opportunity to do so, and that with the full products of their toil for themselves.

If he is a teacher show him how the public school is in a way a recognition of some of the things which Socialism contends for and how hunger, as well as ignorance, may destroy society. If he is an artist show him how Socialism will win a livelihood and leisure for all men, and how the joy of production may reach the multitudes who have never known, and who, under capitalism, never can know anything but drudgery in toil.

In the same way, have regard for his peculiar views. If he thinks imperialism is the question of the hour, emphasize with him the importance of the subject, but show him how imperialism is but one phase of capitalism, and that so long as capitalism remains imperialism will remain also. If he wants the referendum, show him that any referendum as to which of two programs shall prevail when both are proposed by capitalism will not remedy any of the evils of capitalism, and

that Socialism is a program so radical and far-reaching that no impersonal referendum can give us Socialism. Out-voted capitalism will consent to Socialism only when the same vote which gives a majority for Socialism will also elect the public officers who with the whole powers of the state will inaugurate Socialism. Socialism can be secured only by the direct control of all of the departments of government in the face of the most determined opposition, and only a political party can accomplish that. Explain how no capitalist party will give us the referendum and how the Socialist party now governs itself by the referendum and that once in power the referendum will not only come along with the rest of the Socialist program, but that it will be extended to cover joint control of all the joint interests of society.

In short, go over and stand where he is, wherever that may be, and then reason yourself out of his position and bring him along with you on return to your own position.

There is yet another caution for you in these conversations. Do not discuss men. Do not attack the party favorites of the old parties. It is more than likely that they have as good a leadership today as it is possible for them to have under capitalism whose servants they are.

In the old parties the greatness of its leaders depends on their surrender to capitalism. In your party you might explain that no office in the Socialist organization can add any power to any man, that each man's power in the party must depend solely and only on his intelligence, character and service, and that the triumph of Socialism will make an end of the trades and pulls of current politics wherein great men are made to play the role of small ones and small ones given the role of greatness.

879. Correspondence.—After conversation with those you can so reach, would come correspondence with your friends at a distance. They would be glad to hear from you. They will be almost sure to read what you send them. They may be prejudiced against Socialism. They are not prejudiced against you. Write to them. Tell them that you are a Socialist, that you are hourly astonished at the false reports regarding Socialism. Inclose some tracts and ask an opinion in reply. They will be sure to read, and if they do, they must become Socialists. Whenever they say they are Socialists help them to organize for Socialist work wherever they may be.

880. Organization.—Socialism can never come until Socialists are in control of the powers of the state. That means a party. You are not trying to create sentiment or to spread intelligence only. You are to help to organize those who are Socialists, to make new Socialists, and to organize them as fast as you make them. It is not only a majority of all the votes, but those voters in a thoroughly organized political party that you are after. If there is no organization in your place, get your neighbors together and make one. You must have something to join in your own neighborhood, and you must be able to count your strength any day in the year. Nothing will give you courage more than the coming of the new men. Nothing will so strengthen the action of the newly made Socialist as to be made at once a part of an active working force. Proceed to give the new man party work. Show him how to use a blank book. Help him to make up his first list of the men he is going after. See him often, learn of the results of his work.

The local organization will help to anchor not only the new but the old Socialists as well. Within its own

limits it will afford the mutual strength of association and comradeship in a common cause.

The meetings of such an organization will afford opportunity for consultation, for the exchange of names on the workers' lists. Where one has failed another may make a trial. When two are after the same person one may drop the name or both may arrange to act together and **not** at odds with each other in the same task.

881. Cash.—Money in politics is one of the worst features of capitalism. The vast sums collected from candidates, office holders, contractors and the great corporations and trusts, all of whom expect to be the beneficiaries of their party victory, and these sums expended corruptly, involve the most outright betrayal of our public institutions. This money is used to buy the newspapers, to bribe speakers into the utterance of things which they do not believe and into silence regarding the things which they do believe, to effect bogus organizations or to capture and destroy genuine ones, to secure the mailing lists of social and religious organizations, to offer prizes for the falsifying of election returns, to give banquets to bishops and judges whose names are used to conjure with, in dealing with their admirers, to furnish the stakes for gamblers who will bet for their candidates, and so commit the criminal to an interest in the capitalist victory, for free badges, free concerts, free vaudevilles, free excursions and free drinks and, finally, for the direct purchase of the votes themselves. This is the capitalist method of campaign. Whenever money in politics is mentioned it is this kind of a campaign which at once occurs to the minds of most men.

Socialists do not need money for corrupt purposes. They need it for halls, for printers, for books, for postage, for the cost of canvassing, for organizing new

fields, for conducting an open, honest campaign of education and organization. They have a worthy purpose for every dollar for which they ask and not only account for it to their committees, but publish in their party press every dollar received and every item of expenditure.

Socialists sacrifice much and hazard more when they vote for Socialism. But voting alone will not give us Socialism. You must get the majority of all the people. This means your small and regular gift of money to the party work. When you get your new members explain to them that you are regularly paying to the party funds. Your work is not done until you make your new man a payer for Socialism as well as a voter for it. Explain to him what the money is for and how it is used. Convince him that the only way to meet the corrupt money used to control corrupt men is by putting his money into a workingman's campaign to reach by educational methods the working men.

882. Literature.—You will do well if, on the occasion of your first call on any of the men on your special list, you leave with them a book on Socialism, for which they have paid or a Socialist paper for which they have subscribed. While you are there they may be inclined to dispute you, to talk back in an irrational manner, but if you leave with them some book or pamphlet, they will become interested in reading and will have no one to whom to talk back. Socialism always gets its most unprejudiced hearing when it is read about rather than talked about. If you cannot sell the book, then lend it. Do not give it, but lend it instead. That may give you an excuse for an earlier call again than even if they had paid for it. But whether lent or sold, you can follow up your next meeting by calling attention to the points in the book they have read, and so the reading and talking will help each other.

883.—A Worker's Library.—Not all the Socialists can well afford to get all the books on Socialism which they ought to read. The local organization ought to have a circulating library large enough to cover the field pretty thoroughly and a reference library where the Socialist can get information on all the topics likely to arise in his party work. Whenever possible get these books into the regular public library. That is where they ought to be, and usually a little effort can get them put there. Then your neighbor who is not a Socialist may run across Socialism in an unexpected place.

884.—Public Meetings.—Public meetings are of two kinds. Those where Socialists and those who are specially interested in Socialism will meet, and those where the effort will be to reach the general public and address the people who are not Socialists. The one should be regular and frequent, the other should be special, and every effort should be made to make them very large and popular gatherings. The most difficult matter in public meetings is in the advertising. The meeting must be brought before the attention of all the people over and over again. Fill the local papers with notices of the meeting and about the speaker. You need not be afraid of spoiling the speaker by talking about his abilities in your advertising. The Socialist speaker will meet with things enough to keep him humble. You must advertise to get the crowd. You must advertise in a way that will make every person in the neighborhood feel that he must come to these special gatherings or miss the rarest of opportunities. I know that there are larger crowds at the theaters than at Socialist meetings. But the theater is better advertised. Beat the theatrical advertiser and you will beat his crowd.

Then remember the songs. A great crowd of people provided with Socialist songs and singing together will

be the best possible preparation for the Socialist's address.

Let every worker be sure that the men, women and children on his special list are at these gatherings, and then follow up the meetings with the canvass for new men, more papers and more books.

These meetings do not need to be held frequently, but they do need to be prepared for and then followed up with this special work, or the larger share of the value of the meeting will be lost.

885. Classes for Study.—You cannot work effectively for Socialism until you understand Socialism. You cannot make effective workers of others unless you make them understand the subject. You can do this better by organizing a class for study than in any other way. Get a group of your neighbors together. Outline a regular course of study. Take it up faithfully. Encourage those studying with you to become special students of special topics. Send some one of your number to a special training school class if possible. Always be trying to learn more of the subject and you will be teaching others by the very effort you make to learn.

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE FINAL SUMMARY

886. A Comrade's Greeting.—You who have followed these pages thus far and have understood the arguments presented are now able to determine your own position as related to this age-long warfare. If you choose to take sides with the oppressed and against the oppressors then I greet you as my Comrades and bid you fall in line in this most splendid battle for the co-operative commonwealth. Humanity never set for itself a nobler task than ours.

887. The Infancy of Our Race.—You have followed the story of the primitive life of the race. You have seen how in the infancy of our race our ancestors fed themselves from roots and fruits and nuts gathered from the wilds which no man called his own. From a meaningless babble of unformed words, aided by gesture and grimace, in associated effort, they produced a language, by associated effort they fought off the beast of prey, and standing together, they preserved the race of man from utter annihilation. To nuts and fruits they added fish and built and kept a common fire from which each could carry living coals, and no one said "This fire is mine." They contrived and used

the bow and arrow and no one claimed returns from another's toil. Woman's ingenuity and skill and toil made and used pottery and the simple tools of the garden and the field, but no woman said "This field is mine."

888. Tusks and Claws.—In the early youth of this race of ours, primeval man, with no tusks in his mouth, no claws on his hands, no hoofs on his heels, no horns on his head and no wings on his back, acting by tribes, tamed and made helpers and companions of those with tusks and claws and hoofs and horns and wings, and made these creatures do his bidding, to bring him food and drink, but no one said "This herd is mine." They learned the nature and the use of iron. They gathered it from the hills and they smelted it in the rude furnace of the hillside, and from it made the tools and weapons which made these ironworkers the masters of the world, but around the doorway of that primeval furnace the cry of the striker was never heard and the outrage of the lockout was never known, for the private owner was never there.

889. Primitive Achievements.—Rice and barley, wheat and corn, rye and oats, peas, beans and onions; gold and silver, iron, tin, brass and bronze; the sickle and the pruning knife, the distaff, spindle, shuttle and the loom; the harp and the shepherd's pipe, the dike, bridge and irrigation ditch; garments of cloth, shoes of leather and houses of stone; the dog, sheep, goat, hog, cow and horse; the wagon of four wheels, the basket, mill and bakery—and the "white-winged ships, such as come down from the sea," these were among the things man had contrived and learned to use during the years which modern scholarship calls years of savagery and barbarism. In all this the private ownership of the means of life was never known.

890. Civilization.—After that the Phoenicians gave

the world an alphabet. It was civilization's birthday, and it looked up and smiled with a written record in its hand.

But the record which has come to us tells a story of rapine and wrong written in letters of blood and fire, and covering the age-long tragedy of a race betrayed and held in helpless bondage through fifty smoking centuries; for universal war filled the world with soldiers and the ancient military masters of the world were simply slave drivers with a lash for those who were the slaves and a battle-axe for those who dared rebel.

891. Evolution of Capitalism.—You have followed the story of labor through slavery and serfdom and into the wage system and have found the workers still without the legal right to even life itself except as the servants of others.

You have seen how inventions ceased with the coming of slavery and were renewed with the return of self-employment in the free cities of Europe and on the American frontier. You have seen the development of the world-market and of the world-wide organization of industry and commerce. You have seen how the great combinations in industry are working under a system, the success of which depends on the mutual destruction of each other's enterprises, and how in the end the finally victorious combination must produce goods which it cannot sell, profits which it cannot reinvest, and will hold in utter dependence upon itself a world of workers all of whom it cannot possibly employ.

892. Evolution of Socialism.—You have followed the development in the world's life of those forces which make for Collectivism, Democracy and Equality. You have seen how these great fundamental factors are inherent in the very nature of the race life and how the experience of the race, the growth of its religious

and political institutions, the advance of science, the growth of industry, the effort to realize in the smallest degree any of the advantages of mutual aid and the ever-growing sense of solidarity, all lead unerringly to the necessary final triumph, in the life of man, of the collective ownership of the things collectively used and with equal opportunity for all men and women "to have a hand in the work" and a "voice in the management" of the things collectively owned because collectively used. You have seen that this is the glad alternative which Socialism offers for the age-long tragedy of capitalism, which in its last act must end in self-destruction.

893. Social and Economic Controversies.—You have examined the social and economic controversies between capitalists and Socialists. You have seen the capitalists using the public power of all to serve the private interests of a part. You have come to understand how the Socialists are asking that the public power of all shall be used by all and in behalf of all and only so far as shall be consistent with the liberty and welfare of all. You have studied the contentions of the economists in defense of capitalism and you are able to expose the absurdity of their assumptions and to defend your own position. You are able to show that no form of money, no theories of value, no doctrines of population, no defense of rent, interest, or profit can possibly justify the existence of capitalism.

894. Current Problems.—You have seen how the fine arts, religion and education all suffer at the hands of capitalism. You understand why both the labor unionist and the farmer must be Socialists, and how large portions of the small dealers will be brought to the side of the exploited. You have seen how Socialism alone can offer any possible solution for the problems of the trust, municipal misrule, corrupt taxation, the

rights of woman, the race question, the traffic in vice, or provide for the care of the helpless and the aged without personal humiliation and without public disgrace.

895. Organization.—You understand the nature of a political party and why the reorganization of American political parties is necessary if the co-operative commonwealth is to be established. You have thought of the ways by which you may help to create and make triumphant the Socialist party.

896. Comrades: The dominion of property is nearing its end. Humanity shall no longer be subject to property. Property must become the servant of humanity. The dominant passion of the future will be shown in the struggle for the perfection of the human race. It is to this high task that the Socialist calls you. Get out your pencil. Make up the list of your neighbors whom you will try to reach. Enter at once upon this highest calling. Whatever other tasks await you make your work for Socialism the real business of your daily life.

INDEX

Notes.—1. The numbers in this Index refer to the sections—not to the pages.
 2. In looking up any topics, use the Table of Contents together with this Index, as topics mentioned in the Contents are not repeated here.
 3. In looking up references, consult the foot-notes under the sections to which reference is made.

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